WHITE, RED, BLACK

SKETCHES OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

IN

THE UNITED STATES

DURING THE VISIT OF THEIR GUESTS.

BY FRANCIS AND THERESA PULSZKY

IN TWO VOLUMES

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WHITE, RED, AND BLACK.

CHAPTER I.

INDIANA, KENTUCKY, MISSOURI.

I. THE HOOSIERS.

from Mrs. Pulszky's Diary, Feb. 27th.)

A GREAT deputation arrived at Cincinnati the day before yesterday from Indiana. The legislature of this State had been the first to invite Kossuth to their Capital; and now, as we were in the neighborhood of the State, many Senators and Representatives had come with their wives and childern to accompany us to Indianapolis. We went down the Ohio on the steamboat with them, but they were probably disappointed with their trip. Every public man in America, and every foreigner who attracts their attention, must forego privacy. In a country with democratic institutions even the private life of a public man is incessantly watched by friends and enemies; he really seems to live in a glass-house, exposed to intemperate praise and obloquy, though the public does not attach great importance either to one or the other; for a foreigner, however, both occasionally grow unpleasant. Kossuth had become so weary with the uninterrupted receptions, calls, addresses and banquets, that on the boat he shut himself up in his

cabin to take a little rest; and we had only our own society to offer to the legislative Committee of Indiana.

We found most amiable persons amongst them; Senator Mitchell and his lady, plain, unassuming and kind-hearted people, interested themselves warmly about our children, and when they understood that we had four, they offered us to adopt one boy, as they were childless. I took the proposal for a jest, but they told me that such adoptions were not unusual here, and they reiterated their kindness, saying that by trusting the child to them we should not lose him. When his education would be completed they would send him back to us, and if we did not return to Hungary, we should all come to them; though they were not rich, they had enough likewise for our wants.

Mr. Robert Dale Owen, also a Senator of Indiana, is the son of the well-known Philosopher, Robert Owen, with whom he had managed the large communistical establishment of "New Harmony" on the Wabash, which has proved unsuccessful. We spoke about it with him, and he remarked that nothing could replace the stimulus of individual proprietorship. His brother has since become a celebrated geologist, and has made the geological survey of the north-western country for the general government. He, himself, is a wealthy farmer in Indiana, of great influence in the Legislature. Some of the ideas of his father he introduced into the laws of Indiana. By his efforts the women have here more legal rights in respect to the management of their own property, than in the other States where the English common law prevails, which considers the wives as minors, and deprives them of the control of their property. Accustomed to see in Hungary the women managing their own inheritance, the Roman law always appeared to me very barbarous, and I was glad to understand that Indiana set an example, in this respect, to the other States of the Union. Mr. Owen spoke much

about the new Constitution of his State. He had taken great part in framing it last year, and explained to us that such a reform was easily carried in America. When the General Assembly* of a State finds it necessary to alter the Constitution, it submits the question to universal suffrage, whether the people wish to elect a convention or not. If the majority requires a new Constitution, the members of the Convention are elected by the Counties; a Constitution is drawn up, a short report marks the different reforms and innovations introduced, and the plan is submitted to the acceptance or rejection of the people. The principal change suggested in the Constitution of 1851 was, that the General Assembly shall not grant to any citizen privileges or immunities which shall not equally belong to all the citizens. This tendency to discontinue private bills, and to establish general laws for the public at large, is a remarkable feature of the draft. The Secretary, Auditor and Treasurer of State, and the Supreme and Circuit Judges, formerly chosen by the Legislature, are now selected by the people and the Judges are appointed only for a definite term, not for life. The Legislature is prohibited from incurring any debt, and restrictions are established for Banks. These reforms prove that the Democrats had the majority in the Convention. Provisions were likewise made for a uniform system of common schools, where tuition shall be free; the Institutions for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the insane, and a House of Refuge for the reformation of juvenile offenders, have become State Institutions. Most of these innovations had been previously accepted by other States. The election of the Judges by the people, for instance, and for a limited term, has been introduced in New York, Ohio, and other States.

But the most striking feature of the New Constitution

* The Senate is renewed every four years, the House of Representatives every second year, by general election.

was, to me, that whilst it begins with the declaration, that all men are created equal, it contains an article forbidding any negro or mulatto to come into the State of Indiana after the adoption of the new Constitution, and recommends that future legislation should provide for the ultimate transportation of the free colored inhabitants of the State to the black republic of Liberia. Of course I did not disguise my surprise at this inconsistency, and Mr. Owen remarked, that as the negro cannot obtain equal social and political rights amongst whites, owing to the antipathy of the two races, it is greatly to be desired that the black should find a free home in other lands, where public opinion imposes upon color no social disabilities, or political disfranchisement. "Our children shall not have helots before their eyes," said he. "But why are they to be helots?" asked I. "In Massachusetts, as far as I know, in Vermont and in New York, they are free citizens of the United States, if they possess landed property." The answer was, that public opinion disapproved this in Indiana.

Another most interesting acquaintance for me was Mrs. Bolton, the poetess of Indiana, distinguished by her talent and her accomplishments. We spent most pleasant hours with her, and as her name is not yet known in Europe, I insert here one of her poems, communicated to me by Mr. Owen:

"From its home on high to a gentle flower,
That bloomed in a lonely grove,
The starlight came, at the twilight hour,
And whispered a tale of love.

Then the blossom's heart, so still and cold,
Grew warm to its silent core,
And gave out perfume, from its inmost fold,
It never exhaled before.

And the bosom slept, thro' the summer night,
In the smile of the angel ray,
But the morn arose with its garish light,
And the soft one stole away.

Then the zephyr wooed, as he wandered by
Where the gentle flow'ret grew,
But she gave no heed to his plaintive sigh,
Her heart to its love was true.

And the sunbeam came, with a lover's art,
To caress the flower in vain;
She folded her sweets in her thrilling heart
Till the starlight came again."

It is a sweet flower of the West.

With the other ladies I spoke much of their household concerns. They almost all lived on farms or in small country towns, where their husbands, the Senators and Representatives, were lawyers, physicians or merchants, and come only to Indianapolis for the session. All complained of the great difficulty to get servants; colored people are scarce, whites work on their own account, and even the blacks say often, when asked to come as a help, "Do your business yourself." The feeling of equality pervades this State so much, that people do not like to work for wages.

Towards evening we arrived at Madison. The fashionable people had assembled in the church and paid for their seats, intending the result to be given to the Hungarian funds; but Kossuth thought that in the country of equality such proceedings were too exclusive, and he addressed the citizens of Madison from the balcony of the hotel.

To-day we left this small city on the railway. It is carried over a steep ascent from the banks of the Ohio to the high plain of Indiana. Formerly this inclined plane was worked by stationary engines, but a workman, Mr. Cahtcart, overcame the difficulty by placing between the two rails a third rail, with cogs corresponding to a wheel in the centre of the wagons.

One day, rolling a heavy barrel to the railway, he missed the train, and had to roll the cask up the hill. He re-

peatedly stopped to rest, putting a stone under the barrel that it might not slip down, and was suddenly struck by the idea that cogs would alleviate the ascent, and diminish the danger of the descent. He submitted his plan to the Railway Company, they advanced him the money for the experiment, and as it succeeded, they built the present line, and gave him $6000 for his patent. With this capital he established himself as an engine builder in Indianapolis, and is getting a wealthy man.

In the afternoon we reached the capital of Indiana, a very small place, whose resources are not yet sufficient to provide for drainage and pavement. The aboriginal mud of the rich soil reminded me here of the streets of Debreczin.

We proceeded to the hotel, whilst the gentlemen were paraded through the streets, and were introduced to the Legislature. The hotel is very far from nice, and the attendants seem to be fully aware that everybody here is to do his own business. For example, when I was in a hurry to dress for the levee of Governor Wright, and asked for a light, the waiter brought two tallow candles, put them in my hands, and pointing to the mantel-piece, he said, "There are the candlesticks," and left the room.

We went to the house of the Governor; it is small, and I soon perceived why it is not so comfortable as it could be. In thronged the society and people of Indianapolis, ladies and gentlemen of every description. Muddy boots and torn clothes, and again desperate attempts at finery; glass jewels and French silk dresses, which, after having found no purchasers in New York, have been sent to the West. Some of the mothers had their babies in their arms, workmen appeared in their blouses or dusty coats, just as they came from the workshop; farmers stepped in in high boots. Once more we saw that the house of the Governor is the property of the people. And yet this

incongruous mass did not behave unbecomingly to a drawing-room. There was no rude elbowing, no unpleasant noise, or disturbing laughter. Had they but shaken hands less violently! I yet feel Western cordiality in my stiff arm.

Madame Kossuth found the heat so oppressive, that, accompanied by Mr. Pulszky, she went to the adjoining room. A waiter was there arranging the table for supper. He looked so different from the society in the drawing-room, that Mr. Pulszky asked him whether he did not come from the old country, "Yes, sir," said the waiter, "I came from Worcestershire."

"Do you like this country?"

"Sir," was the answer, "how could I like it? I lived in the old country, and have there served *Lords*. As soon as I have made here so much money that I can live quietly in Worcestershire, I shall return."

March 2nd.—Now we are really in the West. It rained for one day, and we are confined to our room; even clogs are of no avail in the street, they stick in the mud. The wind enters our room through a crevice in the wall, large enough to pass through my hand; and the fare!

The bell was rung, we went down to the dark dinner-room. The table was covered with pies, celery, mashed potatoes, sour wheat-bread, tough cow-meat and cold pork. In the bottles muddy water. The bell rung again, and the gentlemen burst boisterously into the rooms, rushed to the table, and pushing aside the chairs, stormed the places which were left unoccupied by the ladies. When the soup was handed round—I think it was an infusion of hay—solemn silence ensued; I almost fancied we were under the rule of the *Auburn* system; not a single word was spoken, but forks and knives worked steadily. Eating, as it seems, is here likewise a business, which must be dispatched as quickly as possible.

Governor Wright is a type of the *Hoosiers*, and justly proud to be one of them. I asked him wherefrom his people had got this name. He told me that "*Hoosa*" is the Indian name for maize; the principal produce of the State. The Governor is plain, cordial and practical, like a farmer, with a deep religious tinge. Yesterday we went with him to the Methodist church, and I saw that Methodism is the form of Protestantism that best suits the people of the West. No glittering formalities, no working on the imagination, not much of reasoning; but powerful accents and appeals to the conscience, with continuous reference to the Scriptures; interwoven with frequent warnings, pointings to heaven and hell. The audience seemed deeply moved; they sang unmusically, but prayed earnestly. I could not doubt the deep religious conviction of the people.

After dinner the Governor went with Mr. Pulszky to visit the Sunday schools, which he very often attends. They found there all ages assembled; children and old men instructed by the clergyman and regular and voluntary teachers. They read the Scriptures in different groups, and the teachers took occasion to explain history, ancient and modern geography, and to give other useful information, but always in connection with the Bible.

Mr. Pulszky had to make a speech in each of the schools, and Governor Wright addressed them also, explaining to them that religion was the basis of social order, and instruction the only way to preserve freedom. He illustrated the obligation to submit to the law of the country by several happy examples from recent events in America. Such constant and personal intercourse between the Chief Magistrate of the State and the people he governs, is really patriarchal, and is in harmony with the intellectual standard of an agricultural population.

Mrs. Wright* has a strongly-marked, puritanical counte-

* Mrs. Wright has died since this was written

nance. It seems as if a smile had hardly ever moved her lips, and yet there is such placid serenity in her features as only the consciousness of well-performed duty can impart. The sister of Governor Wright, a highly accomplished lady, gave me a lively picture of Western life, ever busy and wearying for the ladies; she keeps a school.

Madison, March 3d.—We left Indianapolis in the morning, and for the first time we travelled unaccompanied by a committee. As soon as we arrived here in Madison, the German population of the city greeted Kossuth enthusiastically. Modest as they are, they did not throng to him at his first visit here, but now they came offering their mite for Hungary.

Scarcely established in their new home, and working hard for their subsistence, they yet readily contributed for a cause sacred to their hearts. Though they had become citizens of the New World, the soil with which the ashes of their fathers are mixed cannot become foreign to them; and they felt that the mission of Kossuth extended also to Germany. He was deeply moved, and addressed them in that happy way of his, which leaves such lasting impressions.

II. KENTUCKY.

From Madison we went down the Ohio to Louisville, the flourishing commercial metropolis of Kentucky, and arrived amongst the sons of those mighty hunters who snuffed a candle with a ball of their rifle at fifty yards distance, and when shooting a squirrel on the oak trees, shivered the bark immediately underneath the animal, so as to kill it by the concussion, without injuring its skin. The Kentuckians are known as a hearty, bold and disinterested people, fond of sport, and in love with their State. The New Englanders and New Yorkers say that they

never met a Kentuckian who did not think his State a terrestrial paradise; his wife is always the prettiest, his horse the best, his house the most comfortable in the Union. They certainly are most amiable companions, and their healthy and athletic appearance leaves no doubt that on the turf and the battle-field, they are ahead of either the Westerners or the Southerners. The estates are here larger than in the neighboring Western States, and the "almighty dollar" seems to have fewer worshippers than in the East; but of course the dollar is also scarcer. The population raises principally cattle, horses and pigs: some hemp, flax and tobacco are cultivated, and a great deal of wheat and Indian corn. All this is done with the help of slaves, who in this State, as in Virginia and Maryland, are generally better treated and fed than farther down in the South, on the cotton, rice and sugar plantations. The Kentuckian likes to be cheerful, and to be surrounded by sprightly countenances. Therefore he is kind to his slaves, and it is easy to deal with him. From his fathers he has inherited the sturdy feeling of independence. The hardiest sons of Virginia had explored this country and settled down on the fertile soil. Kentucky was the first State beyond the Alleghanies admitted to the Union, and the history of its separation from Virginia has a peculiar interest for those who think that the rise of a new Commonwealth contains always some practical lesson of political economy.

The first pioneers did not care much for politics; their problem was to expel the savages and to clear the soil. It was so rich that many Virginians sought the "dark and bloody ground"—thus called on account of the frequent Indian encounters—which promised better crops and an easier livelihood than the Old Dominion. But Kentucky was a part of the western domain of Virginia, and the law of the State was naturally extended to her western district.

The new settlers found this law too complicated, and, besides, their commercial interest was linked to the free navigation of the Mississippi, whose mouth was closed by the jealousy of the Spaniards, in those times the rulers of Louisiana. The Kentuckians suspected that the leading men in Virginia did not sufficiently urge the opening of the navigation on this river, believing that its closure would knit the new colonies of the West more closely to the Atlantic States, and would lead to the construction of canals and roads, connecting the Ohio with the Potomac. Moreover, Virginia could not afford sufficient defence for the settlers across the mountains against the attacks of the Indians, and the district had no constitutional power to call out the militia. The border war was carried on by volunteers and marauding parties, which could not be controlled like a disciplined and well-officered force. It was evident that the idea of a mother-State, protecting and controlling her offspring for the interest of the colonists, is just as fallacious as the doctrine of the paternal government of despots in favor of the people. To obviate all those evils, the Kentuckians met in convention, in 1785, and declared their wish to become an independent State, and to frame their own constitution. But Virginia did not yield immediately to the demand. She required the waste land in Kentucky for the "location of her military grants;" besides, many wealthy planters had emigrated thither, and had acquired rights and interests under the law of Virginia. They had considerable influence in the mother-State, and feared that their vested rights would be upset by the majority of the smaller colonists in Kentucky. Virginia had likewise a heavy State debt, and wished to have it extended also to the Kentuckians; whilst the latter found that from the existing resources of the new country, they were scarcely able to provide for the education of their children, and for those internal improvements necessary as means

of communication; that, therefore, they could not assume any burden arising out of the obligations of Virginia, entered into for her own welfare, without respect to Kentucky.

In Tennessee matters looked still more serious. The settlers on the Western district of North Carolina were attacked by the Creeks and Cherokees; the mother-State could not protect them, and without a government of their own, their situation was dangerous. They, therefore, met in convention, and without any further regard for the rights of North Carolina, declared themselves an independent commonweath. The mother-State was determined to maintain her jurisdiction, and did not recognize the authority of the judges, courts and officials, elected by the settlers. Taxes were imposed by the conflicting Legislatures, and people paid neither, as they did not know which was the legal authority. Collisions, and quarrels, and encounters ensued.

The Spaniards and English took advantage of such feelings; they did not like the rapid growth of the United States, and therefore favored the idea of a great Western commonwealth entirely independent of the Union, and likely to be able, in time, to counterbalance the Atlantic States. The Governor of Louisiana promised to the Kentuckians and Tennesseeans the free navigation of the Mississippi, and even military aid, in case these new States should declare themselves independent, not only of their mother-States, but also of the thirteen sea-shore States. The difficulties were great. But Congress felt the importance of the question, whether the Alleghanies and Appalachians were to be the boundaries of the Union, or whether the star-spangled banner should float over the Northern Continent, but it could not interfere legally. Against the will of Virginia, Kentucky could not become an independent State, nor had Congress the power to dictate the conditions of the separation either to the mother-State or to the Colony. The statesmen of

the Union were wise enough to act with moderation, and abstained from direct meddling in the question. Virginia at last gave her consent that Kentucky should be erected into an independent commonwealth, and Congress admitted the new State, 1792, into the Union. Tennessee, with the consent of North Carolina, entered the Union in 1796.

The danger which had threatened the young Republic was a salutary lesson for the future; all the States now gave up their Western claims to the federal government. They saw at once that the wilderness never could be planted successfully, if it remained the property of individual States. But the attempts to sever the West from the sea-shore States did not cease with the admission of Kentucky. Foreign diplomacy, as for instance the French in 1796, always encouraged such plans, and even in this country Aaron Burr, late Vice-President of the United States, the rival of Jefferson, pursued similar schemes. They were natural as long as the commercial interests of the basin of the Mississippi were entirely separated from the Atlantic sea-shore. It was not until Louisiana was acquired, and until railroads and canals had connected the Ohio with the Lakes, and the Lakes with the Hudson, that the union of these two great portions of the Republic was cemented by the identity of commercial interests.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary: March 7th.*)

Kossuth was not invited to Louisville by the civic authorities. The Common Council had drawn up an invitation for him, but the Aldermen and the Mayor did not share its opinions; they were "Silver Greys," and though frequently appealed to by the common council, they withheld their assent to a step which might imply that they approved of revolutions. The "peculiar institution" makes people strongly conservative. But Kentuckian

cordiality could not bear that Kossuth should pass through the United States without visiting the "dark and bloody ground." A popular meeting was held; Colonel Preston, a wealthy planter, took the lead, and the people of Louisville at large, invited us to the "Fall City." Though the civic authorities took no part in the proceedings, the militia turned out, cannons were fired, and the firemens' bells pealed when we arrived. We saw that the people is accustomed here to act for itself.

In the hotel we were waited upon by slaves of all colors. One of them was nearly black, yet his hair was glossy like that of an Indian, and I saw that he was proud of this distinction; he had braided it like a lady. Another was almost white, but his fiery red hair was woolly. To give him pleasure, I asked him whether he was an Irishman; but he replied proudly, "I am an American." The mistress of the house told me that they had seven slaves and four little ones, for her husband never separated families. I immediately perceived that she was English; for she refused to sit down in our presence. This is striking here in America, where the hotel-keepers are nearly all Colonels, and generally behave as if they bestowed hospitality on their guests, not as if they were paid for their trouble.

On the 5th we heard a very creditable concert in the Mozart's Hall, and when we returned to our lodging, we had again a serenade of the Germans. But lo! bells are ringing, the alarm is given, the firemen rush through the streets, confusion ensues. The serenaders, however, are not disturbed; they merrily sound their trumpets and horns; people are accustomed to see their houses burnt; they are insured!

On the 6th we took a ride with Colonel and Mrs. Preston, and Mr. and Mrs. Holt, who, during our stay, were hospitably kind to us. We were astonished at the expanse of Louisville, which, we were told, twenty-four

years ago was but an insignificant town. The streets are broad, the brick houses substantial, with neat front and back gardens; carriages are numerous, negro footmen wear liveries; everything looks more aristocratical than commercial.

We proceeded to the church-yard. It is the promenade of Louisville, very prettily laid out. The American cities rarely contain squares and public gardens, but the church-yard is generally like a park, and used as such. The Romans also buried their dead along the roads; but not before having previously burnt the corpses. The people of Louisville, however, seem now to become aware that a promenade on the burial ground is not conducive to health. Close to the church-yard, on a slight elevation, there is a lovely little wood, with a very fine view of the city, the Ohio, and the hilly country around. The spot is the property of Colonel Preston, who told us that the city authorities are likely to buy it for a public resort.

The house of Mr. Holt, where an elegant breakfast awaited us, is a snug home in the English style, with European pictures, French china and New York furniture; much more comfortable than any of the abodes we had visited since we left Baltimore. Great many people live here in their houses, not in their offices.

March 8th.—Yesterday morning we left Louisville on the steamboat. The freshet on the Upper Ohio had raised the level of the water so much that we could pass the Falls; those rapids from which Louisville got the name of the Fall City. At low water the steamers avoid them by a canal.

The Ohio was called by the French "la belle rivière," which is the verbal translation of its Indian name. And, indeed, it is a noble stream, offering from Pittsburg down to Cairo scarcely any serious difficulty for navigation. No rocks, no sand-banks bar the waters, except here at Lou-

isville; but the artist will scarcely sympathize with the Indian taste which gave the name to this river. The banks display no picturesque variety. The land on both sides of the Ohio is at a general level of about two hundred feet over the water, and the banks rise commonly close to the river in bluffs and cliffs, but rarely forming a valley. Though the leaves of the forests around were not yet green, we had in the night a thunder-storm, and wild geese were coming from the south. The mighty waters swelled by the melted snow of the Alleghanies had carried away many trees from the woods on the banks, which now floated in the river, striking our vessel or heaving it up with a jerk when they came under the flat bottom. We passed the *Cave-In Rock*, a cavern in the lime-stone rocks on the river, one of the sights of the Ohio; but we could not examine it, as the boat did not stop. A River-Guide gave us the names of all the places on the banks, with all the natural and historical recollections connected with it. Like many tourists on the Continent of Europe, we read what we could have seen. The Guide was written in the true Western grandiloquent style, which amused me much. Of the Mississippi, for instance, it says: "that it is a wild, furious river, *never* navigated safely, *except* with great danger." Describing the Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, it contains the following passage: "Every one has heard of the mosque of St. Sophia, St. Peter's and St. Paul's; they are never spoken of but in terms of admiration, as the chief works of architecture; and yet when compared with the dome of this temple, they sink into comparative insignificance." At Cairo we reached the Mississippi, and steamed up the "Father of Waters." One day more, and we reached St. Louis.

III. MISSOURI.

The present State of Missouri forms a part of the territory ceded by Napoleon to the United States in 1803. The First Consul had, by the treaty of Bayonne, acquired the Louisianas from the Spaniards; but well aware that he would be unable to maintain them for any length of time against the English, to whom the possession of the lower Mississippi would have given the means of coercing the West of America, he was ready to sell the old French colonies to the United States. Unable to maintain French supremacy in Louisiana, he wished, at least, to strengthen the power of the growing Republic, the future rival of England, in her dominion over the seas. Jefferson had no such grand plans. In order to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi, he treated for the acquisition of lower Louisiana, and did not yet aspire to the dominion over the immense country west of the Mississippi, larger in extent than the whole of the Territory of the United States. It was at this time a vast wilderness, with only a few scattered settlements in upper Louisiana; St. Louis being the only place which deserved the name of a city. This French territory, though bordering on the United States, was still separated from the farthest American settlements by large tracts, the exclusive home of the deer and of the savage. The American Ambassador was therefore greatly surprised when the government of France declared it would treat for all the French possessions in North America, but in no case for New Orleans and the surrounding country alone. He felt the immense importance and bearing of the French proposal, the treaty was concluded, and the United States got now a strong and independent position, easily to be defended against any foreign invasion. The territory of slavery was increased by this purchase. Lower Louisiana, as a

sugar-planting State, had always been cultivated by slave labor; but the country reclaimed for free labor was far more extensive. Upper Louisiana was by its climate destined to be a wheat-growing country, and therefore not likely to become a slave state, though the settlers and pioneers from the South had carried their slaves with them up the Mississippi. The lower country was admitted into the Union in 1812, and the country around St. Louis, organized as a territory, got the name of Missouri. It increased rapidly, and in 1819 a bill was introduced into Congress, according to the wish of the Legislature of the Territory, authorizing the people, in the already accustomed form, to elect a convention in order to form a Constitution. But at the same time an amendment was carried in the House of Representatives in Washington, prohibiting the further introduction of slavery, and setting free all the children born in the new State after its admission into the Union. This was the condition under which Missouri was to be erected into an independent State. The "*proviso*," however, raised a violent storm all over the Union. It was not only the question of slavery which was brought in this way under the decision of Congress, but it was also the first attempt of that body to control the free action of the people living in a territory in forming the Constitution. It was denied that Congress had the right to restrict the sovereignty and self-government of the people, and to put any conditions for the admission of a new State which are not contained in the federal constitution. The slave-holding States were alarmed; they said that this amendment revealed at once the aim of the North, and the *means* of carrying it by a usurpation of power in Congress, which in this way would soon absorb the rights of the States. They contended, besides, that this bill contained a violation of the rights of property, as the settlers in the territory had gone into it with their slaves

under the existing laws, and after being allured there, were to be deprived of the services on which they had relied. A compromise terminated the strife. The convention of Missouri was not restricted by any condition, but it was enacted, that in all the country lying North of the new State, though held by the original French title, slavery should not be introduced. This country was not yet inhabited by whites, and Congress therefore did not interfere in this case with vested rights.

The excitement about the Missouri question is of great importance for the history of the black race in America. Until then, the gradual emancipation of the negroes was a favorite idea with American philanthropists and statesmen. Manumissions were frequent, and were encouraged by public opinion. But since the Missouri question the tide has turned. Slavery, which before that period was viewed as an existing evil not easily dealt with, was first excused as a law of nature, next praised as a most excellent conservative institution; until, at length, men arose who believed in real earnest that slavery was the only sound basis of a regular government, and of social order. The question of slavery was once more brought before Congress in connection with the admission of Missouri. Only one-fourth of the inhabitants of the Territory had owned slaves. But such was the indignation of the people against the attempted interference of the federal government in the framing of a Constitution for the new State, that the convention declared the legislature should be prohibited to pass a law to emancipate slaves. It was likewise declared in the Constitution, that no free negroes or mulattoes were to be admitted into Missouri. The Northern States, where colored persons are recognized as citizens of the Union, hereupon objected to the admission of Missouri, as restricting the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to all the citizens. The majority in the House of Repre-

sentatives was in favor of this view; and the question of the rights of the States, and of the balance of power between North and South, became the source of a general excitement, which at last was smoothed by the personal influence of Henry Clay. A formula was devised and accepted, which left the main question undecided, while it seemed to satisfy both parties. The Constitution of the United States says, that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities in the several States," yet, in fact, at this day all colored people, though citizens of the Northern States, are excluded from large portions of the Union, and are even put in prison if they touch the soil of South Carolina. The Missouri Compromise brought this inconsistency to no issue. It dodged around the question, and the statesmen of the Union are always anxious not to touch it.

IV. ST. LOUIS.

St. Louis, next to New Orleans and Cincinnati, the most important of the cities in the Mississippi basin, was founded in 1764, by Pierre Laclède, the chairman of a company of merchants at New Orleans, to which the Governor of Louisiana had granted the exclusive privilege of the fur-trade with the Indians on the Mississippi and the Missouri. He went up the Mississippi intending to raise a fort and trading post at the mouth of the Missouri. But, according to an anecdote, he fixed it thirteen miles below that point, only because the ladies of the party were tired of moving about, and would not proceed farther. Cincinnati, too, is said to have been laid out on its present site, because the officer of the United States forces, posted in Fort Washington, fell in love with the wife of a settler, whose house stood on the bend of the Ohio. The officer, desiring to live near her, transferred the wooden fort high-

er up the river, where it became the nucleus of the city. But whoever examines the site of these great emporiums, will easily perceive that these romantic traditions are scarcely to be credited; the cities could not be laid out on more favorable points than those they really occupy, nor can their site be accidental.

Shortly after St. Louis had been founded the country was ceded by France to Spain, and under her dominion the city increased but slowly. There was no public school in the whole colony, no regular church; the villages were sometimes visited by missionaries; the currency consisted in deer-skins. The French Creoles lived here in such an isolated and primitive simplicity, that, though their honesty and hospitality has become proverbial, they could not compete with the Yankees, and soon, when under the rule of the United States, they were "improved off" by sharp Tennesseeans and Kentuckians.* But even in 1830 the population of St. Louis was but 6,000; in 1852, it had risen already to about 100,000. In the last twenty years, the States of Missouri, Illinois and Iowa, were rapidly filled with an enterprising population, and St. Louis became the market for a back country more extensive than that of Cincinnati, and yet the land between the Missouri and Mississippi is but scantily peopled; the increase of the "Mound City" is, therefore, likely to continue on the same gigantic scale as heretofore. The principal articles of trade in St. Louis are: lumber, tobacco, hemp, flour, salt beef and pork, whisky, the lead of Illinois, the commodities

* As an instance of the unpractical way of the Creoles and their dealing with the Americans, it is related, that a genuine Missourian, who wished to buy a negro from a Southern slave-dealer, was told, upon inquiry, that the price was five hundred dollars, and that, according to custom, the buyer may have one year's credit upon the purchase. The French Missourian became uneasy at this proposal; he was not accustomed to have debts. He therefore said, that he had rather pay six hundred dollars at once, to be done with it, and the Southerner obligingly accepted the offer.

and manufactures of Europe, and of the Eastern States. Rich iron deposits have been discovered in the State, but as yet their working remains unprofitable. The Missourians, therefore, though Democrats, (in St. Louis the Whigs are in majority), complain of the "Free Trade Tariff," and wish to have their iron-industry protected against English competition. There are in St. Louis but few manufactories, principally distilleries and flour-mills. One of the most important and most promising establishments is that for the preparation of white-lead. Ship-building is also carried on on an extensive scale. Missouri has, as yet, no railways, but several lines have already been surveyed, and the great line to California must touch St. Louis, and will add to the importance of the city. The track of the overland emigration across the Rocky Mountains passes through the city, and the emigrants provide themselves here with their necessaries and provisions for their route through the Western wilderness, until they reach the Mormon country, where the supplies can be renewed. Colleges, schools, churches, newspapers, are, in St. Louis, as numerous as in Cincinnati,—but there are more Roman Catholics here than in any other city of the Union, Baltimore and New Orleans excepted; and the Jesuits have raised here their principal stronghold. Another remarkable feature of the city is the large German population, including nearly one-fourth of the inhabitants.* I found them nowhere in the United States less amalgamated in language with the Americans, though in their business habits they have become here as practical and enterprising as the Yankees themselves. They are the sworn enemies of the Jesuits, though many of them belong to the Roman Catholic creed.

* According to the census of 1850, St. Louis had a population of 105,064, —23,814 were Germans; 11,277 Irish; 2,922 English; 2,459 belonged to other foreign nations; 1,250 were free negroes; 5,967 slaves.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.*)

March 9th.—A new feature of Western enthusiasm! When our boat yesterday arrived at the landing-place in St. Louis, people jumped from the neighboring steamboats on our deck, and poured into the state-room in such a compact mass, that the captain of the steamer requested Kossuth to proceed quickly ashore to prevent misfortune. Mischief had already been done, panes and lamps were broken. We pushed our way through the crowd, and could scarcely escape its pressure by retiring into the next storehouse, not without losing the clogs, which remained sticking in the mud. The city authorities shortly afterwards arrived, and carried us in procession to the hotel.

We found here several of our former friends and acquaintances. Mr. Rombauer, late Director of the iron mines in the County Gömör, and then of the musket manufactory in Hungary, is now a farmer in Iowa. If ever the iron mines of Missouri shall be developed, he will see a great field open for his activity. Mr. Bernays, formerly attached to the French Embassy at Vienna, keeps a store in Illinois; Mr. Börnstein, the popular German author, the Paris correspondent of the Augsburg Gazette, is the editor of the most influential German paper in the West. They related to us all their adventures, since we had lost sight of them;—novels of real life.

Mr. Rombauer had been in California. Several of our countrymen thrive there, but he suffered from the climate and returned to the back-woods of Iowa. In California he had met a pioneer seventy years old, who, proceeding from Western Pennsylvania, had eighteen times sold his settlement, clearing the woods, building a log-house and selling it, as soon as he was overtaken by the bulk of the emigration. And even to California he came, not in order

to remain, but to sell his newly-acquired property as soon as he could do so with profit. A Hungarian private soldier found that California was the terrestrial Paradise: he walked on gold and slept on gold, said he. But yet he left the diggings as soon as he had made some money, and bought a farm and four oxen, to live upon the produce of his soil.

March 13*th*.—We were agreeably surprised. Our excellent friend Ujhazy arrived from New Buda, the Hungarian settlement in Iowa. Though near sixty when he had to leave Hungary, he had become a pioneer in the Western wilderness. A few years back a wealthy man, he now tills the ground with his own hands! But he is healthy, perhaps yet more vigorous than before; and his companion, Mr. Pomucz, formerly a lawyer, now looks hale and sinewy, like a Kentuckian. The nobleness of their countenances has not been destroyed by their manual labors: everybody sees at the first glance that they are superior men.

Ever since our arrival, the rain has been pouring in torrents; yet the people did not like that Kossuth's address should be delayed. They met on Tuesday, and thousands of them were drenched for two hours, while listening to his eloquent voice. It was a practical demonstration of sympathy, so much the more, as the Jesuits had exerted all their influence to thwart the feeling for Hungary, which manifests itself in very striking incidents. A poor clerk came the day before yesterday to Kossuth and left his golden watch on the table as a contribution for European freedom; and when Kossuth refused to accept it, the young man declared he would take this for an insult. A farmer called, shook hands, and said: "Thank you that you allowed me to see you. I must yet return to-day to my farm; and I was determined to shake hands with you. I set my very life on it, for I am a cruel man. I might have killed myself

with disappointment. But now I must give you something: I have nothing in my pocket but a poor knife,—but this you must accept as a keepsake from a Western farmer."

March 15th.—Yesterday we were at the country-seat of one of our new German friends. On our way to it we passed several mounds, similar to the European *tumuli;* and likewise those curious large funnels on the plain, which look like small craters. The cottage of Mr. Mügge is very nice, but no grounds are yet laid out around; a rude fence marks their future extent. The view is very fine on the Mississippi, peopled by steamers, and in the back-ground on the lime-bluffs of Illinois. The society was entirely German,—cheerful, musical, and lively. To-day I visited a large American establishment, belonging to Colonel O'Fallen. The place reminded me of a Hungarian house; a large, solid stone building, on a hill in the midst of a park, with stately trees, surrounded by cottages. But here the likeness ceased; the inmates are black slaves. As far as I saw, they are well fed and well clothed. When we arrived at the door, a negro woman opened it; it was the former nurse of Mrs. Pope, the lady who accompanied me, the daughter of the proprietor. Black Lucy seemed delighted to see her young mistress, and brought all her children and grand-children to greet her,—a numerous band of woolly-haired imps, by no means handsome; but Mrs. Pope petted them, and genuine affection seemed to exist on both sides. On our return I wished to see one of the Roman Catholic convents, where young ladies are educated, by the sisters of the "Sacred Heart," an order affiliated to the Jesuits. We were not admitted, as the nuns gave the excuse that it was a washing-day, when everything is upset. To-morrow we leave St. Louis. On the whole, it has left on me the pleasant impression of young and expansive life.

Reality is sometimes as strange as fiction, and persons meet in life in a way which astonishes in a novel. In the summer of 1848, the convent of the Jesuits in Vienna was attacked by the people, led by the students, and the "Patres" were expelled. Europe, with the sole exception of England, was at this time not favorable to Jesuits; England was sufficiently stocked with them, and so they went farther West, until they reached St. Louis; six remained there in the convent, and one of them now instructs the republican youth of the Mound City. But the students of Vienna were in their turn expelled by the soldiers in the autumn of the same year, and one of them, who had played a part in the attack upon the convent, was now also in St. Louis, engaged as printer in the German printing house. Are those meetings perhaps yet to be continued and completed?

V. RELIGION IN THE WEST.

With the exception of Kentucky and Tennessee, the Western and South-Western States have all been formed within this century. The aboriginal population has been expelled; new colonists have come. The pioneers who clear the woods and live in log-houses, must of course forego the comforts of civilized life: they plunge voluntarily, for a time, into a semi-barbarous state. To maintain the existence, and to prepare the future welfare of their family, is their first aim. In the first period, they have as yet no resources to provide for churches and schools. The Federal government, and even the State governments, have nothing to do with religious establishments; and the religious condition of the West would be, perhaps, very unsatisfactory, had not the different churches of the older States, and the missionary societies, turned their attention to the condition of the stray colonists in

the back-woods. It is interesting to see the course taken in this respect by the different Protestant denominations. The Methodist and the Baptist preachers are always the first in the field. Their itinerating ministers go with the pioneers to the Far West: the log-house is their chapel, and the corn-field their Sunday school; it is their zeal which keeps up Christianity and religious feelings in the wilderness. They are likewise the apostles of the Indians and of the colored people. The result of their exertion is striking. The Methodist Church was organized in the United States in 1784; it had then 83 ministers: in 1850, it had 6,000 regular and at least 8,000 local preachers. The Baptist church is older, but at the beginning it was much persecuted. The ministers often suffered imprisonment in Virginia, and were banished from Massachusetts; they had to retire to Rhode Island. In 1790, they numbered 1,150 churches and 900 ministers; in 1850, the number of their churches amounted to 13,500, with 8,000 ministers. Next in zeal to them are the Roman Catholics. The original population of this creed in the United States was very small, and chiefly confined to Maryland. In 1775, there were but twenty-six priests and fifty-two congregations in the Union. By the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida, the number of them was largely augmented; but it is the immigration from Germany, France, and principally from Ireland, which has become the great source of their increase. It is believed that about one-half of the immigrants from Europe belong to the Roman Church. There are now four Roman Catholic archbishops, thirty bishops, 1,073 churches, and 1,100 priests in the United States; and large sums of money are constantly sent thither from France, by the Lyons Society, for propagating the faith, and from the Leopold Society in Austria. The financial difficulties of this empire have not drained those resources, and Austria sends, besides money, also Jesuits, to Amer-

ica, for the propagation of Roman Catholicism. This order has, in the United States, acquired considerable importance. They remain here, what they have been in Europe, sophistical missionaries amongst the rich Puseyites, spiritual directors of the poor, and the teachers of youth. They have amassed considerable wealth by bequests; and as they rule in an absolute way over the Irish immigrants, they are courted by American politicians. The Silver Grey Whigs in St. Louis, for instance, are their friends, and several papers are under their influence. The Jesuits, in their "Province of Missouri," have one *Provincial*, four colleges, one house of probation, and nine missions,—two of them amongst the Indians. Their names show that they are a recent importation from Europe, especially from Austria, Italy, Germany, and Belgium: very few of the Jesuit priests are of English or Irish origin. Seventy-four of them work in the West, not without success; but the number of their proselytes is, as in England, greater in importance than in number. If they gain occasionally a family of the higher classes, they lose the masses; the daily contact with Protestants, the cheap newspapers, and the free schools, act powerfully on the Irish immigrants, and their children often turn Protestants. Romanism cannot complain here of oppression in any form; and this is a great advantage for Protestantism.

The Presbyterian Church gained larger influence in the Middle and Southern States than in the West. They have altogether 4850 ministers, 5960 churches, but their number is likely to increase faster, as the "Cumberland Presbyterian Church" has now adopted the itinerating system of the Methodists, and is following the pioneer into the backwoods.

The Congregationalists—the Old Puritans—remain nearly entirely confined to their original seat, the New England States. They have not increased in the new

States; the immigrants, brought up in this creed, usually join the Presbyterian church in the Middle States, the West and the South. They have altogether 1700 ministers and 2000 churches, of which 1400 are situated in New England.

The Episcopal church, though the oldest in the States, has not much increased. This church was accustomed to be supported by the State, and the clergymen were mostly Tories; they had therefore to leave the United States when the War of Independence broke out. The Episcopal church in America prospers principally in the large cities, as likewise it is the fashionable church, the church of the rich. With the Methodists and Baptists it is the preacher who forms his community; gathers them perhaps in the backwoods: but the Episcopalian church sends the clergyman only when a community has been formed beforehand; it is of all the slowest to arrive. In 1850 there were twenty-eight bishops, three missionary bishops, 1500 clergymen, and 1550 churches of this creed.

The Unitarians dwell chiefly in New England, with about 300 churches; the Swedenborgians, the "Christians," the Universalists, the United Brethren in Christ, the Moravians, the Dunkers, the Winebrennerians, the Seventh Day Baptists, and many other dissenting bodies, are disseminated in the different parts of the Union; but in the West all the sects become more fervent, and, I might say, more prolific. The agricultural life in the lone settlements seems to excite meditation, and to foster religious feelings. That it is a fertile soil for fanaticism, the growth of the Mormon creed is one of the most remarkable evidences.

VI. THE LAND-SYSTEM, THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, AND THE HOMESTEAD BILL.

The tenure of land in America is quite different from what it is in England. Leases of land are almost unknown here. Every farmer is the proprietor of his ground, and every ground has but one proprietor. Common lands are at present unknown, as well as reserved rights on property. Fences, often of the rudest form, invariably mark the boundary of every estate; encroachments are therefore hardly possible. In America the parish is neither a political nor a territorial subdivision. The political subdivisions of the States are the Electoral Districts and Counties, those of the Counties the Townships. Corporate property is scarce, and is held in the same way as individuals hold it; the European system of land-tenure has everywhere gone down in the United States. The Dutch, in the present State of New York, had granted large extents of land to the "Patroons," who let them to copy-holders. But the system of copy-holds is repugnant to American feeling: it savors of feudality, and is now near to its extinction. The English government also made large grants to individuals and to land companies; but the system of leases could not be introduced; farmers will not settle on any property but their own; the land was therefore parcelled out, and sold mostly to actual settlers. The French used always to cede tracts of land for a whole community, on condition, that they should be worked in a body. The colonists were not to scatter themselves, but to unite in villages under the protection of the forts, combined for mutual labor and mutual defence. A field was assigned in proportion to the number of the families in the village. A certain portion was allotted to each family for cultivation, and all the families contributed to its general

enclosure. Another tract was laid out for the common pasturage of the cattle, a third as common wood-land. All the territory of the village was a kind of common property, a system which formerly prevailed all over North-Eastern Europe,—Germany, Hungary, Poland and Russia, and which only lately has begun to be abandoned. The rotation of the crops was the same for the whole village, and no one had the right to enclose his individual property. American supremacy has swept away those commons, and individualism prevails in the tenure of lands. With such a system the progress of agriculture is unrestricted, and no quarrel can arise about rents, leases and tenant right, as everybody who tills the ground is a freeholder.

It is on an entirely different point, that the land system in America becomes a subject of great importance for the statesmen of the Union. The Western claims of the original States have been ceded to the federal government. It has bought the Louisianas from France, the Floridas from Spain, and New Mexico and California from Mexico; it has extinguished the Indian title to a great extent. The federal government has become in this way the undisputed proprietor of a vast reach of land, of which in 1851 four hundred millions of acres in the country between the Alleghanies and the Pacific have remained unsold and unappropriated. Congress had previously granted away forty millions six hundred thousand acres of the public domain for schools, universities, deaf and dumb asylums, and similar institutions in the different States and Territories; nine millions of acres were granted to the Western and South-Western States for internal improvements; fifteen millions five hundred thousand were given as bounties for the soldiers who had served in the wars of the Union; twenty-seven millions four hundred thousand were granted to the States as swamp-lands to be improved, or

disposed of by them; nine millions two hundred thousand were reserved for, or ganted to, individuals and companies; three millions are set aside for the great central railroad from the Gulf of Mexico to the Lakes; and finally, about sixty-five millions of acres have been sold for the Congressional price,—of two dollars before 1820, and of one dollar and a quarter the acre after that date. According to European notions, this Congressional price is low; but the Western States complain even of this as too high, and as hindering the rapid increase of the population. They say, that the federal government derives more revenue from every person who settles upon the land, by his consumption of imported and taxed goods, than from the sale of the same land to a speculator, who leaves it unsettled for several years. The public domain has, besides, so much increased in late years, that if the government disposes of it by sale and donation at the rate of the last fifty years, it will require more than three hundred years to dispose of the whole. There is likewise so much land thrown into the market by the bounties for the soldiers, and the appropriations of public lands to internal improvements and educational purposes,—which will all be sold cheaper than at the Congressional price,—that the sale of land will scarcely increase the revenues of the federal government for some time to come. The question, what shall be done with those lands, can be therefore solved without any regard to the federal finances. Opinions differ as to the right and the policy in respect to the public lands. They have been acquired by one hundred millions of dollars,* paid from the federal treasury, made up by the

* Fifteen millions to France for Louisiana; five millions to Spain for Florida; one million and a half to Georgia; forty millions for extinguishing the Indian titles; fifteen millions to Mexico for New Mexico; two millions to Texas for her claims on New Mexico; about thirteen millions and a half for surveying, selling and managing the domain.

whole country. The aggregate receipt from the sale of public lands amounted, in 1850, to 135,000,000 dollars. Some Westerners therefore say, that the federal government has not only been reimbursed, but that it has made a handsome profit. They claim, therefore, the Western lands for the Western States. Congress, according to them, ought to cede the public domain to the States in which it lies, to be disposed of as they think proper; or to grant it for internal improvements, or educational purposes in the West.

According to the Eastern politicians, this would be an injustice towards the Eastern States. They object to the figures adduced by the Westerners as the price for the public domain, and include in this amount the war-costs of the Revolution, of the war of 1812, against England, of the campaigns against the Cherokees and Seminoles, or at least against Mexico. They say, besides, that it was not only by money, but also by the blood and patriotism of the whole country, that these lands were acquired, and therefore they claim that equality and reciprocity should be observed; they desire that generous grants should be made to the new States for education and internal improvements; but they insist also, that liberal appropriations should be voted for like purposes to the old States *in proportion to their population.* Of course, the Westerners disclaim this proposition, which gives the lion's share to the wealthy East, already provided with schools, canals, and railroads,—and they justly remark that the Westerners are the sons of the Eastern States; that the land, as long as it is not settled, has no value whatever; that Western labor only can make them productive; and that the profits ought therefore to be appropriated for the moral and commercial advantage of the settlers, that they may be able to keep pace with the old States.

A new scheme has been devised of late years, evading

the contest of the East and West in this question. It is, to grant the public domain, in limited quantities, to actual settlers, at a price barely sufficient to cover the costs of survey and transfer, with such restrictions as to prevent it from falling into the hands of speculators.

This was the substance of the so-called "Homestead Bill," introduced into Congress during our stay in America, which probably will be passed in the next session. The bill got its name from the intention to give a homestead to every settler at a merely nominal price. It is evidently one of the most important measures; and its influence—if carried—will be felt by relieving the Eastern cities from their poor population, and by filling the West at a rate yet more astonishing than heretofore. The bill is therefore eminently popular with the lower classes and the philanthropists in the East. All those who believe slavery to be an evil, are supporters of the Homestead Bill, as the rural population of all the South-western States will grow more dense, and slavery can only be maintained in a thinly peopled country. This measure will create here an agricultural middle class, independent of the planter, and unconnected with slaves. All the Western States, without exception, advocate the bill,—the free Northwest as well as the slaveholding Southwest, because their prosperity increases with the population.

On the other side, it cannot be denied that great difficulties are connected with it. The income of the Federal Government would be forever reduced to *one single source*, the import duties. All those millions of acres, which have been granted of late years to educational purposes, to railways and canals, and which are yet in the market, would, for a time, considerably fall in price, and all those influential persons who speculate in land, and have bought up the best sites for the Congressional price, will lose their expected profits. The great capitalists are there-

fore against the measure, and they will exert their influence against the passing of the Homestead Bill. Should it pass, wages would rise both in the East and in the West, and check the progress of the manufactories. It would be a radical change in the condition of the working classes in America.

Yet the Homestead Bill has not become a party question. A great many Whigs believe that the rising of wages will lead to a higher protective tariff on foreign manufactures; others think that the increase of the Western population and the extinction of pauperism counterbalances all the difficulties; and the Democrats appeal to the authority of their model President, Andrew Jackson, who, with his usual sound common sense, as long ago as 1832, expressed himself in his message to Congress in the following way:

"It cannot be doubted that the speedy settlement of these lands constitutes the true interest of the Republic. The wealth and strength of a country are its population, and the best part of the population are the cultivators of the soil. *Independent* farmers are the basis of society and true friends to liberty. In order to put an end forever to all partial and interested legislation on the subject of the public domain, and to afford to every American citizen of enterprise the opportunity of securing an independent freehold, it seems to me best to abandon the idea of raising a future revenue out of the public lands."

CHAPTER II.

THE AFRICAN RACE.

I. AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Two years had not yet elapsed from the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusetts, when the first negroes were brought to North America. A Dutch vessel trading between the west coast of Africa, at the West Indies, was driven by storm to Virginia, and sold there her cargo of slaves. The white population at this time was scarce, labor was remunerative, and the wages therefore very high. Moreover, the Africans bore the febrile climate better than the whites, and could be employed on marsh lands; they were, of course, considered a valuable commodity. This is the origin and the cause of the importation of blacks to the United States,—it was in order to afford cheap labor that it continued, though not on a very extensive scale, nearly for two centuries, from 1622 to 1808.

A great portion of the colonists were always averse to the importation of black baborers. The poorer classes who had emigrated to America, and whose capital consisted in their labor, could not be friendly to an institution which gave greater power to capital and depressed the value of labor. Slavery, besides, as an encroachment on the principles of equality, was most anxiously watched in the colonies; for the wealthy, by buying slaves, gained a dispensation from labor and became aristocrats; they were able to have larger tracts of land cultivated, than, at the

high rate of wages, could have been profitably worked with free labor. Serfdom, in itself, did not inspire *at that time* the moral disapprobation which we feel *now;* many whites were in a similar condition as the blacks. Unable to pay their passage to America, they had agreed in Europe to be sold by the captains, in open market, for a certain number of years, under the name of "Redemptionists." Their masters often advanced them money during the time of their serfdom, for which they again were bound to work, and the period of compelled labor was in this way often indefinitely extended. This, too, was a consequence of the scarcity of hands.

The religious communities, especially from Germany, who had found an asylum in America, objected to slavery on religious grounds. But their conscience was quieted by eminent European divines, whom they had consulted on this point, and who answered them, that if as Christians they bought slaves in order to convert them, their action was not only no sin, but it was meritorious. Still there remained always among settlers of North America a great opposition to the importation of negroes, and several colonies, as for instance Georgia, protested as strongly against the slave-trade, as against the deportation of convicts from England to North America, which was also resorted to in order to afford cheap labor. The imperial government in England, however, paid but little attention to the wishes of the small settlers, though they were a majority. It regarded only the representations of the great landed proprietors, who always complained of the want of hands in the colonies. The Northern agricultural provinces were of less importance, for English commerce, than the Southern plantations, whose staple was tobacco, a product most valuable for the Exchequer. Moreover, the Northerners were ruder in their manners; and, when educated, as in Massachusetts, they were nearly unmanageable to the

Governors, and obstructed the measures of government by determined opposition, being always suspicious, lest centralizing tendencies should curtail their rights. The Southern slaveholders, on the other hand, were thorough gentlemen in the English sense of the word, landed proprietors, the descendants of cavaliers, many of them officers in the colonial army, and, in social respect, equals of the English governors and officials. Their views were therefore more heeded, as they were also more in harmony with the tendency of the government. But even the Southerners became in time well aware of the evils of slavery, and at the period of the Revolution manumissions were frequent, whilst the fresh importation of negroes was stopped by the war. When the Constitution of the United States was framed, in 1789, the slave-trade was formally prohibited after the year 1808, and it was generally assumed that the emancipation of the Africans in America would take place in a short space of time through voluntary emancipations, by the slave-owners themselves. But it was acknowledged that they needed some time for so arranging their affairs, that a sudden transition might not endanger their economical welfare. Washington himself held this opinion, and proved his desires practically by freeing his slaves in his last will. The census-tables are the best evidence of this general tendency. In 1790 the *total* of free colored persons was 59,466; in 1800 it amounted to 108,395; in 1810, to 186,446. One score of years had more than trebled the free Africans, and as the importation had ceased, slavery would soon have been extinct if the philanthropic views of the revolutionary generation had ruled also over their sons. But people are governed more by gain than by morality; utilitarian calculations are more powerful in peaceful times than love of liberty; the enthusiasm of the Revolution soon cooled down, and the "almighty dollar" got again the ascenden-

cy. In the same year, in which peace was concluded, and the independency of the colonies reluctantly acknowledged by the mother country, in 1783, the culture of cotton was introduced in South Carolina. The English demand for this staple increased, the supplies from India became scarcer, American cotton and slave-labor rose in demand, and the philanthropy, which had already doomed slavery, began to evaporate. The mills of Manchester became a new prop of slavery, and the misrule of India, which did not develop native industry, has perpetuated the "peculiar institution" until now. The linen-industry in Ireland and Germany was crippled by cotton, which expelled the Irish and German weavers to America; the cotton-spinners of England clad all the population of Europe, nay, of the civilized world, in a less expensive way, and required therefore greater supplies of the raw material from year to year. The immense production of this article in the United States is sufficiently known,—it is exclusively the result of slave-labor.

The price of a full-grown strong slave occupied in the cotton-fields is now, on an average, $800, and though his maintenance for one year is assumed to be only $50, the profit which he yields to the owner is on the average not more than one cent on the pound of cotton. If cotton becomes one cent cheaper in Liverpool, either by supplies from Asia and Africa, or by a process which would cheapen flax, the peculiar institution will soon decline. The English Abolitionists therefore could not further their object better, than by urging the reform of the government of India. As soon as India is covered with a net of high-roads, canals and railways, as soon as it offers a sure field for investing English capital, the East will again compete with the Southern States of the Union, and slavery will be abolished. A little less of martial spirit with the Governors-General, and at the Board of Control, and a lit-

tle more attention paid to the development of Hindoo agriculture, will soon liberate the African race. George Thompson would have more successfully advocated abolition by pressing the East Indian question in Parliament, than by his lecturing tour through the Northern States. We are told that Port Natal in Africa, Moreton Bay in Australia, and the banks of the Parana are likely to produce cotton to any extent. If this be the case, the great difficulty of the United States will be solved without concussion. The effects of a good government in those countries will be felt in every slave-cabin from Chesapeake Bay to the Gulf of Mexico.

From abroad there is scarcely any other effective mode of action for the abolition of African bondage in America. Declamations against the institution, uttered by foreigners, are of no use: on the contrary, they imbitter the Southerner, to whom an Abolitionist is just such a bugbear as Proudhon is to a Paris banker. The notorious maxim of the Communist, that "property is a theft," has closed the eyes and hardened the hearts of many wealthy Frenchmen in respect to the hardships of the lower classes; and the declaration of the Abolitionists, that "Slavery is a sin against God," has driven many a benevolent slaveholder to disown the principles embodied by the Declaration of American Independence. Not only is his pocket attacked by the Abolitionists, but even his religion is called in question, his morality is denied, his character is insulted. He cannot believe that he is a bad man, only because he is not better than his fathers,—and even than Washington, and Jefferson, and Jackson, and Henry Clay were. He seeks everywhere an excuse for the peculiar institution. When his clergyman, often a slaveholder himself, shows him that the Gospel does not condemn slavery;—when he asserts, that the Africans are sons of Canaan, and must remain under the curse of Noah; the planter easily persuades

himself, that though the sin of Adam has been expiated, and though faith can redeem us from the original curse, no faith and no sacrifice can ever expiate the curse of Noah. It is, therefore, quite natural that an Abolitionist is regarded in the South as a man to whom nothing human or divine is sacred; he is a robber, he attacks property, and opposes an institution, which has a biblical origin. But all this Southern irascibility will soon cool down, if the *trans-Chesapeake* population becomes denser, and free labor cheaper and more profitable than slave labor. Economical reasons will soon bring about what moral sermons could not achieve. In Europe, too, and in China, slavery was extinguished, less by morality and religion, than by cheap and abundant free labor, the consequence of the density of population.

Let us now view the free and slave States of the Union in respect to this point, and let us test three States of each class; one of the most populous, one of average density, and one where the proportion of the inhabitants to the area is the lowest. In Massachusetts, there live 127 inhabitants on a square mile; in Maryland, the most densely peopled slave State, 62; in New York, 67; in Virginia, 23; in Maine, 19; in Arkansas, 4; and in Florida, 1. In the New England States, altogether, the cold and little settled State of Maine included, we find 43 inhabitants to the square mile; in the Middle States, 27; in the Southern States, only 14. In Texas, which could not fairly be included in this statement, as it is as new as any of the Western States, there are but 89 souls on 100 square miles. In the Western States the proportion of the population to the area is likewise very small, only 11 to the square mile, but the increase of the inhabitants is here four times as rapid as in the South. But if we proceed further with our inquiry, we find that the densely peopled Southern States have but few slaves. Maryland, with

490,000 inhabitants, has but 90,000 slaves; Missouri, with 535,000 freemen, has 87,500, whilst Florida has 39,000 slaves in a population of 87,500, and Arkansas 47,000 in 210,000. South Carolina is the only great exception; the density of population is 25 souls to the square mile, and yet there are only 283,000 freemen, and 385,000 slaves. In Mississippi, (12 souls to the square mile), the slave population is also larger than the total of the free inhabitants, and precisely those two States are the stronghold of the Secessionists.

The American friends of emancipation are well aware of the law of political economy, which makes slavery incompatible with a dense population, and therefore they objected earnestly to the annexation of Texas, as an extension of the territory of slavery. They knew that the new State would drain the upper States of their surplus negroes, and therefore would delay their freedom. The Homestead Bill, however, will have a more powerful agency on the other side. The density of a negro population would scarcely lead to emancipation, it would rather frighten the slave-owners, and probably incite them to oppression, which might lead even to a servile war. It is only a dense white population, which *can* and which *will* displace slavery, and this result cannot be long delayed. At the present rate of increase, (33 per cent. in ten years,) the total of the inhabitants of the United States will amount, in a quarter of a century, to 50,000,000, and slavery will be unable to subsist any longer.

II. POLITICAL RESULTS OF THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION.

I do not enter into the subject of slavery from the moral point of view; enough has been said and published in this respect these last seventy years. I take the question up entirely from political grounds.

One of the Southern leaders, speaking about this institution, said in 1849: "If left to the tender mercies of the federal government, its fate is doomed. With the prejudice of the age against it, it requires for its kind development a fostering government over it. It could scarcely subsist without its protection." It is clear, that the Southerners are well aware that slavery is attacked by public opinion. They know their weak point, and this real weakness has been converted by them into a source of strength.

The Constitution of the United States wisely forbids any alliance of an individual State with other States. The Fathers of the country knew that a separate league within the Union would endanger the Federation. But the institution of salvery common to fifteen States has united them in one body, though no treaty of alliance has been entered into by them; *they are leagued together by the community of their interests.* With them there is one question which overrules their whole position; one institution to which even their party feelings are subordinate. As soon as they think that slavery is endangered, the differences between the Whigs and Democrats disappear in the South; all the politicians are then no longer party men, they are exclusively Southerners. They know that the protection of government is needed in order to maintain slavery; they must therefore get a permanent influence in Washington. In order to maintain it, it has become a tacitly accepted rule in the slave States, to re-elect their Senators when their time has expired; in this way their statesmen get a deeper insight and a greater influence into the policy of the United States. They are tried business-men, and therefore at the head of the Congressional Committees, whilst the Northerners and Westerners, who have no such paramount interests to guard, rarely re-elect their Senators; new men replace them, and it generally takes a long time

before they become known and can gain influence. Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Crittenden, King and other Southerners, held their seats in the Senate at Washington for fifteen years and longer, whilst amongst the Senators of the free States, only Webster was elected so often as four times. In the same way the planters hold together in the party conventions, and have until now always succeeded in so far that it is either a Southern man who becomes the candidate of the party; or if it is a Northerner, he is selected by the South. In both cases it is a man who favors the "peculiar institution." No President can be nominated or elected without the concurrence of the Southern States; no Northern statesman, therefore, who does not share the opinions of the South, can ever aspire to the highest post in the Union, whatever might be otherwise his statesmanship or his talents; though the population of the free States amounts to thirteen millions, and that of the States in the South but to six millions. Besides, the planters have one more advantage. The members of the House of Representatives in Washington are elected according to the population, one member always in 96,716 free inhabitants; but in order to give some advantage to the planting States, the Constitution declares that five slaves are to be taken for an equivalent of three free persons. In this way Mississippi, with a free population of only 296,657, sends five Representatives to Washington, whilst New Hampshire, with 317,964 free men, sends but three. North Carolina, with 580,401 free men, has eight members in the House, and Maine, with 583,188, but six. In this way the aggregate number of slaves in a Southern State, though they have themselves no political rights whatever, gives to the vote of the free white population an additional weight.

To resume, slavery has created a separate confederacy in the great Union, and gives to the South an influence

which is not in proportion to its population. The common interest of the fifteen States prevails regularly against the other sixteen States, which are not united. Government patronage is therefore always extended to the South, the slaveholders have the principal share in "the spoils of office," they fill the departments of State, and get the commissions in the Army. The Northerners see it, and feel themselves ill-treated by the South; they wish to break the rule of the slave States in Washington City; nevertheless, the South still keeps up its advantageous position. Northerners must submit to the views of the planters, if they wish to get into federal office. Southerners are always afraid lest the institution, upon which all their financial interests rest, should be destroyed; they therefore, from time to time, take the offensive. They then complain that they are wronged by the North, and under this pretext they exact new pledges for the maintenance of slavery, and succeed in their pretensions by declaring that they are ready to secede from the Union.

But the strength of the South is the weakness of the United States. The division into free States and slave States has become the handle for foreign diplomacy. In the last century the Indian difficulties, and the separation of the West from the "Old Thirteen," was the point upon which foreign powers seized, in order to embarrass the Union; now it is the secession of the South. Three times, already, has this threat been uttered, in a way which seemed serious; three times in forty years the country was to be "saved," and it is very remarkable, that the cry of secession was always heard just when the despots of Europe were striking a great blow against Liberty. When in 1819 the German princes entered into a crusade against freedom under the high patronage of the great Czar, the "King of Kings," the Missouri question shook the Union to its foundation, and though the storm was averted by a

compromise, the question still remained open for the future. When, again, in 1832–34, Louis Philippe and the German princes retrograded, and began to return step by step towards the old comfortable absolutism, "Nullification" endangered the Union; the South denounced the North, and used the threat of secession instead of arguments. And scarcely had the cause of freedom been put down on the Continent of Europe in 1849, when the South again became loud, and required additional pledges from the free States in respect of the maintenance of slavery. Is not this quite a curious coincidence? Is it nothing but a new evidence of the identity of the interests of freedom all over the world? Or is it, perhaps, also a result of the secret working of diplomacy? So much is certain, that whenever the interests of a foreign country shall require that the power of the United States should be crippled for a time, it will always be easy to rouse a storm, and to disturb the country on this question.

Another important political result of slavery is the Conservatism of the South. The peculiar institution cannot prosper amongst new ideas and general progress; the slave States, therefore, are eminently conservative. An American explained to me in good earnest, that the instiution of slavery is, in the United States, the substitute for the English aristocracy; it is the check which prevents Democracy from proceeding too rashly. "After the abolition of slavery," he said, "nothing can be reasonably expected but the deluge; all our institutions will be swept away, and anarchy will begin. Slavery alone maintains order, society, and family in the United States against Communism, Socialism, and all the '*isms*' of Europe. The conservative feeling of the South is the natural consequence of slavery; the statesmen beyond Mason's and Dixon's line must necessarily, and for self-preservation, oppose every innovation. You know that a candle burns

more brightly, but is rapidly consumed, in pure oxygen; for respiration, therefore, nature has mixed it with azote; thus it is, likewise, with our institutions; the freedom of the Northern States is the oxygen, the slavery in the South the azote. The mixture is necessary; for without it the United States would shine brighter in history, but would soon disappear."

The conservatism of the slave States, however, goes only to a certain point. It efficiently checked the propensities of the North for the annexation of the Canadas and Nova Scotia; but when the North-West began to fill so rapidly that the admission of several new States was soon expected, all the South favored the Texas movement, as this was the only direction in which the territory of slavery could be extended, and from which new slave States could be carved out, in order to counterbalance the growing Northern ones. Straight westward the Southern institutions cannot proceed farther. At a time when the question of slavery had not yet imbittered American politics, government had, without any reference to the checking of the peculiar institution, granted the territory between the States of Missouri, Arkansas, and New Mexico to the Indians, as their new home. They cannot any more be expelled from this tract, and north of it the climate does not favor cotton,—or even tobacco plantations. But human foresight is often baffled by the result. In the case of Texas the result deceived the expectations of the South and the apprehensions of the North. The annexation of this State was the cause of the war with Mexico, and of a new territorial extension of the United States. But the newly acquired country was won for Freedom, not for Slavery. The soil of New Mexico destines that territory for the cultivation of corn, not of cotton. Utah, the valley of the Salt Lake, can never be worked profitably by slave labor, and the gold of California induced so many

people to settle there, that it soon became a State, and the jealousy of the gold-diggers against capital and compelled labor, has excluded slavery from the shores of the Pacific by Constitution. The States maintaining the peculiar institution are therefore already now in a minority in the Senate; the balance of the North and South, which was a principal aim of the annexation of Texas, has been disturbed by the consequences of the very measure which was to maintain it in future. For the restoration of this balance Cuba is now required; the misrule of the Spaniards has prepared the way for the Lone Star Association, and the conservative South does not disapprove the movement. New Orleans is the head-quarters of the next expedition.

As to the individual States, the Institution of Slavery has for its result the accumulation of large landed property in a few hands. Small settlers do not like to go to a place where they cannot become socially the equals of the planters. The white population is therefore less dense than in the North; free schools cannot be established here, and newspapers have a very limited circulation; instruction is not widely spread, nor the spirit of enterprise diffused. Locomotion is scarce, railways therefore are not a very profitable investment for capital; they are slowly built, and canals are not heard of. Land is cheap, and yet it is not taken up. Compared with the Northern and Western States we find the South stagnant. Instead of an ever-busy and enterprising population, we see here on the plantations a kind of aristocracy,—careless, large landed proprietors; whilst in the cities, the middle classes are much below the level of the North. They lack commercial enterprise, and manufacturing skill, and are morally and materially dependent on the planters.

Such are the general results of the "Peculiar Institution" in political respects. It maintains the wealth of in-

dividual families through several generations, but checks the progress of the States, where it is introduced.

III. SOUTHERN VIEWS.

When we converse with Southerners, it is quite natural for us to ask them, whether they do not think their peculiar institution a very dangerous one, which may put the property and life of the whites in jeopardy, especially in those States where the two races are equal in numerical strength, or where the blacks prevail. But they invariably reply, that foreigners do not understand the influences and tendencies of slavery; that they do not appreciate its patriarchal character; that they do not know the amiability and docility of the African race, and the strong attachments and loyalty of the negro. They say, they have never had negro mobs; that only three instances are recollected to have occurred within a century in all the slave-holding States, of as many as half a dozen slaves conspiring for revolt, and that in every instance *it was the loyalty and fidelity of slaves* which caused speedy detection. Moreover, in every instance free negroes and not slaves were the originators of those plots. They point to the fact, that when in the last war the English army had landed on the mouth of the Mississippi, several battalions of slaves were immediately organized and fought bravely, under General Jackson, for their masters, in the battle of New Orleans, without knowing that they were to be emancipated: for no such reward was held out to them beforehand. They say, that no district in any free State can boast of the comparative exemption from crime that any agricultural district in the planting slaves States of equal population can show, nor does the North know the same harmony, peace and good feeling in society as the South. They assure you, they have not, and do not choose to

have a negro, who, in case of foreign war, or even in case of a sectional domestic conflict, would not defend his master and his home. A gentleman of South Carolina told me, that if an Abolitionist were to come to his plantation, his slaves would hang the intruder, before he (the planter) would be able to save him. They say, that though the law declares that slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed and adjudged in law to be chattels—personal in the hands of their owners—though the master may dispose of their person, their industry and their labor; though the sacredness of marriage and family ties is legally denied to them; though they cannot bear witness either for or against any white person; yet on the other side, the laws of all the slave States declare, that when prosecuted for felony and capital crimes, slaves shall not be deprived of an impartial trial by jury, and that any person who shall maliciously deprive of life or dismember a slave, shall suffer such punishment, as would be inflicted for a like offence, if it were committed on a free white person, of course, if convicted by white testimony. As to the punishment for most offences, and particularly for venial ones, the laws of the slave States are—according to the planters—more humane and more salutary than the criminal laws and police regulations of the free States; that is to say, flogging is substituted for prison, as in the standing armies. In one case, as in the other, you require the man and his labor, therefore you do not doom him to prison for any length of time.

They do not deny that there are cruel masters amongst them, and that it is only public opinion which checks them in some measure, but they deem this check sufficient. The white neighbor will, they say, for the sake of his own interest, denounce his cruel fellow-planter, and the judge will punish him, lest discontent should spread among the black population. For the same cause they do not like to

sever the family-ties of the slaves and to sell the children away before they are grown up, though they might do it legally.* Such cases, they say, recur only at the partition of property, after the death of the planter, or in cases of insolvency, when the whole "stock of slaves" is sold by auction. In general, if a slave takes a wife from a neighboring plantation, the owner buys the wife of his slave, or sells the "boy" to the owner of the girl.† The planters dislike to have discontented people, because they do not work well, and get their health impaired.

The slave-owners therefore call, and really believe themselves the guardians and protectors of the black. "It was the English," they say, "who imported the negroes to North America: now they are here, and did not the institution of slavery *protect* them, the superior energies of the white man would soon destroy them by competition. Black pauperism would stain America in the same way as white pauperism stains Europe, and in a few generations the whole race would disappear like the red men." "It is true," they say, "that a slave can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to his master,—but then neither does he need to think about his lodging, and food, and clothing; he has no care either for his old age or for the provision of his children. When infirm, he is nursed and attended to; destitution and starvation are unknown evils to him. Under the institution of slavery, the black race has increased in the United States at a rate unparalleled in their ancient homes in Africa. In 1810, after the importation from abroad had entirely ceased, there were 1,200,000 slaves in the Union; in 1850, 3,200,000. Such a result gives, according to the Southern-

* In Delaware, the law forbids to separate the families by sale, or to sell the slave out of the State.

† All slaves are called "boys" and "girls;" if they have a large family, "uncles" and "aunts."

ers, the lie to the imputations of cruelty and bad treatment. The peculiar institution does, at least, not increase the rate of mortality. And all those millions are better clad and better fed than their kinsmen in Africa."

The planters say, that the slaves of the South are, comparatively, not only a civilized people, but, according to them, in the whole history of mankind, not a single example can be adduced of a race of men, starting from such a depth of moral degradation and barbarism, and in a century and a half making so vast an advance in civilization. This progress has been owing,—so the planters believe,—in no small part to the fact of their being slaves. Through this relation they have been brought into close contact with a superior race, under circumstances of restraint and excitement, which have compelled them to abstain from some of the most debasing vices, and to form habits of industry, which have led them to catch rapidly the social, moral and religious ideas of their masters. The Gospel is preached to them; they have morally improved; the planters have never thrown any difficulty in the way of the missionaries who instruct them in Christianity, except where they suspected them to be abolitionists; on the contrary, they *pay* the clergymen for visiting the plantations: they like to have pious slaves, because they are more patient and more laborious than the unconverted ones. They object sometimes to their being taught to read and to write, that they may not be exposed to the inflammatory publications of the Abolitionists; but the planters regularly give every assistance to the labors of the missionaries, who, of course, dwell most earnestly on the Christian obligation of the slaves to be subservient to their masters.

The Southerners like to draw a parallel between the state of their slaves and the state of the agricultural population of Ireland, or of the paupers in the great manufacturing cities of Europe. They say, that in the last twenty

years, whilst the natural increase of the slaves has added more than thirty-four per cent. to their number, the population of Ireland has remained stationary; that, whilst there is no slave in the United States who had not a good dwelling, more than 250,000 abodes have, according to the *London Times*, been pulled down in Ireland by the proprietors in the last ten years; and more than two millions of individuals, "evicted" by their landlords, were expelled from their home, a prey to fevers and starvation. The Poor Houses of Great Britain contain, on an average, above two millions of paupers, and according to the Poor Law regulations, the man is there always separated from the wife, and the child from the parents, whilst among the slaves such separations are only exceptional. Flogging, they say, is going on in many standing armies in Europe, just in the same way as amongst the slaves; and marriage is restricted amongst the soldiers, whilst no such restriction ever was resorted to on plantations.

They say, therefore, that the aggregate of misery in the lower classes of Europe, amongst the agriculturist population of France, as well as amongst the manufacturing population of England, is much larger than the aggregate suffering of the slaves in the United States. The pecuniary interest of the planters is connected with the well-being of the slaves, whilst the manufacturer in England does not care whether his workman lives on herring or on meat, whether his wages are sufficient to maintain a family, or what becomes of him when he is unable to work by age or infirmity.

To all those declamations I generally replied by asking, whether they do not believe that agricultural pauperism in Ireland, and manufacturing pauperism in England, is a stain on English institutions? And whether they are to emulate the evils of the old society of Europe? They replied, that they point to these evils only as to an excuse,

that these are as necessarily connected with the financial welfare of England, as slavery is with that of the Southern States. "No freedom," say they, "can exist without slavery; only that in Europe you call it pauperism. Moreover, if two races coexist in the same State, the higher race, according to a law of nature, always destroys the lower race, unless it is protected by the institutions of slavery, serfdom, or villanage. I then told them, that I belonged to a country where the aristocracy, the land-owners, by their own free will, not compelled by pressure from without, have abolished all the traces of feudality, and converted their peasants into freeholders; and that I was proud of having been one of those who had advocated this measure for a series of years, and who had made the sacrifice of a portion of their income, without reluctance, for the benefit of the country. When I spoke in this way the Southerners generally were polite enough to drop the conversation; but in their countenances I saw that they thought: "He did it, but now he is an exile."

They often enlarged, also, on the difficulties of universal emancipation in respect of the negroes themselves. "What would they do;" they say, "if they were free! They have not learnt to care for themselves; they cannot do anything else than plant cotton and sugar; to give them political rights would be a most dangerous thing; for being untrained to public life, they would become the tools of demagogues; and to set them free in such crowds, without giving them any political rights, would be dangerous and illogical. As slaves they can remain in the United States; as freemen, they must be sent out of the country. The white has no antipathy against the slave, but he dislikes the free negro, and does not acknowledge him as his equal; freedom does not suit the black race; amongst whites, therefore, the free colored persons often become paupers, whilst the slaves thrive and live happily."

Such are the arguments of the planters. It struck me peculiarly, that I found here in the South just the same notions upon which despotism is based in Europe. People speak about the welfare of the slaves, as if man had only a body which is to be fed and clothed, and not, also, a thinking soul. They forget that men do not live upon bread alone, and that the mind and the feelings require also their food. A care-worn life, where every day is marked by exertions of the soul, even if their result should be a material failure, is still richer and more valuable for mankind, than the brutish existence of thousands of slaves, whose mental energies remain undeveloped, though they may be as well fed and taken care of as the bull of the farmer, or the horse of the sportsman. The despots of Europe and their admirers, who measure everything by material well-being,—those who find a good dinner to be a great fact, and patriotic self-sacrifice great nonsense,—will surely say, that the state of slavery in North America is most excellent. They are well fed, they are merry, they dance and sing, and their number increases rapidly,—they have as little to care for the future, or reflect on the past, as the poultry in court-yards, and the cattle in the stable. But, whoever knows and appreciates the mental and moral faculties of mankind, must bewail an institution, which dooms millions, "in their own person, and in their posterity, to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything their own, and to toil, that others may reap the fruits."*

IV. THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

When California, having become by the discovery of the gold fields, in spite of her Southern climate, not a

* Opinion of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, delivered by Judge Ruffin, State *vs.* Alann, 2 Dev. Rep. 263.

planting but a free State, claimed her admission into the Union, the South was seized with alarm. Until that time, the number of the slave States was equal to that of the free States, and as every State sends two Senators to Congress, irrespective of their size or population, the balance between the two different sections of the Union was always preserved; but now preponderance was to be given to the free States even in the Senate, whilst in the House of Representatives, where the States are represented according to their population, the South, where the peculiar institution checks the increase of settlers, has been long ago in the minority. The planters began to fear, that in future slavery would be interfered with by Congress, in spite of the sovereign State-rights, that it was going to usurp power, and to assume centralizing tendencies under the plea of humanity. Owing to such apprehensions the Southerners required a new pledge from the free States, before California could be admitted to the Union, that no encroachments should be made on the peculiar institution, and that slavery, as a domestic matter, should be left entirely to the disposition of the States, where it still exists, without any interference from Congress.

The Constitution of the United States contains an article, that "no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, [an euphemism for *slave*, because this word is avoided in the Magna Charta of American liberty and independence,] escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." The Constitution evidently took slavery for a vested right, and would not deprive the planters of their "property." This provision, however, was easily evaded by the free States. A slave, escaping from the South, often found friends who assisted him; zealous abolitionists some-

times persuaded the negroes to run away, or even kidnapped them, and carried them off to the North, where the State marshals (police-officers) gave no hearty assistance to the planters in search of their fugitive slaves. In case the runaways were overtaken, the jury in the free States, in spite of the Constitution, seldom adjudged them to the Southerners, but discharged them commonly on technical grounds. Public opinion pronounced strongly against any "rendition" of runaway negroes. The number of the fugitive slaves was therefore increasing. In the year 1850, we are told by the census-tables, their total amounted to one thousand and eleven, valued at about $600,000.

In order to have the provision of the Constitution carried out, and as a pledge that the North respected the principle of the sovereign State rights, the South required that Congress should enforce the extradition of the runaways by transferring all such cases from the jurisdiction of the separate States to the federal jurisdiction. The marshals and their deputies were obliged to catch the runaways under a heavy fine, and were made answerable for the escape of such fugitives from their custody; the costs of the prosecution were to be borne by the federal treasury, and trial by jury was denied to any colored person, whom a planter should claim as a runaway, the cases being in future to be determined in a summary manner.* To complete the bill,

* The owner or attorney of any owner of any fugitive slave is authorized to seize such fugitive, with or without warrant, or process, and take him before some one of the courts, judges, or commissioners, (appointed by the circuit courts of the United States or the superior courts of each territory) whose duty it shall be to determine the case in a summary manner, and on proof by deposition, or affidavit, or other satisfactory testimony, duly certified, of the said fugitive, and of the right of said claimant to the service of said fugitive, the commissioner shall make out and deliver to said claimant a certificate, which shall be conclusive, and prevent all molestation of the said claimant by any process, issued by any court, judge, or magistrate, or other person whomsoever, setting forth the substantial facts in the case, with authority to use necessary force and restraint, to take or remove such fugitive to the State or territory from which he has escaped. The testimony of the fugitive is in no case to be admitted.

heavy fines and imprisonment were enacted against persons rescuing or assisting a fugitive slave. This is the pledge which the free States were to give, that the admission of California shall not become the means of encroaching, by their congressional majority, upon the rights of the South. The North objected, that the bill was an interference of the South with the rights of the free States; that until that time Congress had tolerated slavery as an existing domestic evil of the planting States; but that now it was desired to sanction the principle of slavery, to put it under the peculiar protection of the federal government, and to force the North to participate in an institution, of which the free States did not approve. Slaves would become, by this bill, a privileged property; a Northerner suing in the South for a stolen horse, or other abstracted valuables, must pay his own expenses, whilst the costs of the planter for the recovery of his slave are to be paid by the federal treasury, from the funds of the North as well as of the South. By the threat of secession, however, the South succeeded in carrying its object. Webster and Fillmore, and many eminent Northerners, advocated the measure, which, after a great and exciting debate, became the law of the United States. The South triumphed. What are the results?

Three cases, under this law, attracted, during our stay in America, considerable attention, and created great excitement.

Mr. Gorsuch, a planter of Maryland, pursued his fugitive slave to Christiania, in Pennsylvania, with his son and the marshal. The negro found friends there, the people of Christiania protected the fugitive, a riot ensued, it came to blows and then to arms, and in the fight the slave owner was shot and the slave escaped. The rioters were indicted for murder; their trial excited universal interest, the pleading was reported in all the papers of Pennsyl-

vania, and the jury acquitted the defendants. The dark side of slavery was unveiled for those people of the North, who formerly did not bestow a thought on the peculiar institution, as it had been abolished long ago amongst them. But still the South thinks that the fugitive slave law protects slavery!

Shortly afterwards another case in Pennsylvania ended likewise fatally. It was the fugitive slave who was killed in the affray, by the marshal, who was immediately pursued as a murderer by the excited people, and had a narrow escape back to Maryland; but he is outlawed in Pennsylvania, and in case he should happen to cross the boundary, he has to stand his trial for wilful murder.

The third case was yet more striking, and full of dramatic incidents like those of a novel. A slave had absconded, several years back, from Baltimore. He had settled in New York as a mechanic, he had married a beautiful quadroon, and lived happily in his humble station. Mr. Reese, his former owner, though esteemed as a pious man, could not resist the inducement of recovering his "property" held out by the fugitive slave law. He had him arrested and brought before the court at New York. The wife and the children of the unhappy man followed him before the judge; they clung to the prisoner, who was to be separated from them forever; they cried whilst Mr. Busteed, the counsel of the plaintiff, stated the case, and appealed to the Judge to enforce the law, which had become the pledge of the North to the South, the great tie of the Union, and therefore of the prosperity of the States. He himself was moved by the heart-rending sight, and to show his compassion with the woes of the poor woman, who witnessed in tears this painful act of "justice," he peeled an orange and offered it to her; but it was another thing she wanted, not the orange! Mr. Jay, the counsel of the defendant, objected first to the proceedings on tech-

nical grounds; he saw that the case was desperate,—and then appealed rather to the feelings than to the law. At this Mr. Busteed became excited, rushed forward, and boxed the ears of his colleague in open court. The Judge was bewildered, and withdrew; order was at length re-established, the slave summarily delivered up to the counsel of the plaintiff, and torn away from his wife and children, who, crying and wailing, followed the carriage which took him off. It was a sad tragedy, which acted strongly on the feelings of all who witnessed it, and on nobody more strongly than on Mr. Busteed. He had accomplished his duty as a citizen; he endeavored now to do what he ought to humanity. He set to work, put his name down for one hundred dollars, and collected the necessary funds amongst his friends, and other benevolent persons in New York, for the liberation of the slave whom he had recovered for Mr. Reese. He bought him back to liberty, and restored him, in about a fortnight, to his distressed family. Mr. Reese got by the law in this way about one thousand dollars, but the obloquy which he incurred was scarcely outweighed by this sum; and I doubt whether the peculiar institution is benefited by such proceedings, which continually direct the attention of the public to slavery, even in those remote parts where the interest for the blacks in bondage has long ago subsided.

In my opinion, the fugitive slave law is the heaviest blow inflicted on the peculiar institution. It is a two-edged sword, cutting those who wield it,—the most admirable engine for all those who desire the emancipation of the colored race.

To the Southerners who expect from it the indefinite continuation of slavery, I would show an antique bronze badge in my possession, with the inscription—"Jussione DDD.NNN. ne quis servum fugientem suscipiat."—By the Decree of our three Lords, no one shall harbor a fugitive

slave. The three Lords were the Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius. They had also enacted a severe fugitive slave law; and, in their time, the slaves had to wear such badges, with the warning inscription upon them; and yet slavery ceased in the Roman empire shortly afterwards, though the slaves were of a different race from the rulers. They were uncivilized barbarians, unfit for the social order of the empire; but bondage could not be maintained long, and the fugitive slave law accelerated the emancipation.

V. THE FREE COLORED PEOPLE.

The free colored population of America amounted in 1850 to 428,661, whilst in 1790 there were only about 59,466. In the first decennium, after the first census was taken in the United States, they increased by 82 per cent. In the second, their increase was 72 per cent.; in the third, 25 per cent.; in the fourth, 36 per cent.; in the fifth, 20 per cent.; in the last ten years, only 10 per cent. Evidently, manumissions become rarer in the slave States. In the year 1850, we find that 1,467 slaves had been emancipated by their masters, and those chiefly in the agricultural States. In Maryland 493 were manumitted, out of 90,400 slaves; in Delaware, 277 out of 2,298; in Virginia, 218 out of 472,000; in Kentucky, 152 out of 211,000; in Missouri, 50 out of 87,400. On the other side, the planters of North Carolina, with their 288,400 slaves, have freed altogether two persons, and those of South Carolina the same number out of 384,900. In Mississippi six slaves were emancipated out of 309,900. These figures are explained by the laws of the planting States. They do not encourage manumissions; the free negroes are deemed a dangerous class, because they associate with the slaves, whilst they imbibe the notions of freedom from the

whites. In order to check emancipation, every slave-owner is bound, in the case of every person he frees, to provide that the freed man and his descendants should not become a burden to the community. Besides, in several States, every free colored person is obliged to put himself under the protection of some white citizen, who makes himself responsible for the good behavior of his client. In case he finds no such patron, he must leave the State, or he forfeits his right to liberty, and is sold by the overseers of the poor. In Virginia the manumitted slave is, according to recent legislation, bound, immediately after he has been freed, to leave the State; and in South Carolina, manumission is invalid unless ratified by the State legislature. In Mississippi, every negro or mulatto found within the State "not having the ability to show himself entitled to freedom," may be sold by order of the court as a slave. The freed men are therefore always in danger of relapsing into bondage, unless they leave the State. Free colored persons coming from other States are excluded nearly from every planting commonwealth. Amongst the Free States, Indiana and California are closed to them. The scheme of sending the free colored population over to Liberia has many advocates in the South, and there is no doubt that if the Colonization Society had larger means at its disposal, many Southerners would manumit their slaves, in order to have them carried back to Africa. In the South, we find free persons of African descent chiefly—I may say exclusively—*in the cities*, as servants, waiters, carriers, barbers, coffee-house keepers, and musicians; though I understood that there are rare cases in which they buy land and have it cultivated by slaves.

The greatest number of free colored persons in the South is in Maryland—viz., 74,000; in Virginia, there are 53,800; in North Carolina, 27,200; in Delaware, 17,000; in Kentucky, 9,700. In the Free States, we find them

especially in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Indiana (10,800), Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Illinois. The great bulk follow here the same professions as in the South, but many of them are likewise mechanics, some are farmers, clergymen, lawyers; and one of them, Frederick Douglass, is the editor of an Abolitionist newspaper in Cleveland, (Ohio.) In New England, they are full citizens; in New York, only if they have some property qualification; in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the West, they have no political rights.

On the whole, there is a great prejudice in the North against colored people. But strange to say, you find it more with the town folks and the higher classes than with the farmers, who are not so nice about color and pedigree. The reason may be, that in the cities you almost always see them in a menial position; and, as yet, no man of genius has elevated the African blood in North America. In Europe, the greatest Russian poet, Pushkin,—the French novelist, Alexander Dumas,—the Austrian chief of the department for public education and worship, Feuchtersleben, have shed lustre on their African descent, of which they are proud. Men of equal talents in America will, when they appear, probably do more to destroy the prejudice against color than any theoretical declamation. But it is the misfortune of the black race, that mostly the Congo and Eboe negroes have been introduced to America,—the ugliest of the blacks, and probably lower in capacity than other negro nations. And even amongst their countrymen, those who were sold as slaves scarcely belonged to the flower of the nation. They were generally prisoners of war; and we know that such are mostly the cowards and helpless, and those belonging to the less warlike tribes, who fall an easy prey to the bolder and braver.

For any man without energy or ability it is not easy to get on amidst the enterprising city populations of America,

and yet the free colored people flock rather to the cities than to the rural districts. I cannot say whether it is from antipathy to the labor, which reminds them of their former position, or whether it is, perhaps, because manumissions are more frequent amongst the house servants than amongst the "field hands" of the planter. The hardships of competition with the whites are strongly felt by the free negroes. The census of 1850 shows that there were 436 idiots, and 321 lunatics amongst the 428,661 free colored persons, whilst amongst 3,198,324 slaves the number of idiots was 1040, and of insane only 291. Many of the free colored persons are paupers, but others again prosper, and the new toils and new cares of their freedom often meet also with reward. At least, I never have heard that a free colored person wished to return to bondage. The careless existence in the South, with the daily ration of maize bread and of salt pork, with the water-tight cabin and the small garden around it, and with the nurse and physician at the sick bed, are not attractive enough for the care-worn freedman to go back to the flesh-pots of Egypt; he loves liberty, with all its struggles and toils.

But there are also not many amongst them who would like to go to Liberia, where their social position is much more agreeable, and where they have a fair field for their energies. They know as yet too little about this interesting commonwealth on the west coast of Africa, which is perhaps destined to a glorious future. I had the opportunity of meeting in London Mr. Roberts, the President of the Black Republic, and found him a gentleman distinguished by soundness of judgment and clearness of views. He told me that the new colony extended now from Sherbro to Cape Palmas, from 8° to 5° N. latitude, and that the country, mountainous and well timbered, was inhabited by fifteen thousand colored persons, mostly emancipated slaves from North America, and about 150,000 natives.

The Liberians do not belong to one tribe, they are a mixed population; in America they have lost every tradition of their former home, therefore they have neither predilections for, nor prejudices against, any native nation. The weaker tribes, decimated by their slave-trading enemies, flee to the Liberian territory, claiming protection. A continual rapid accession has taken place since the establishment of the colony, so that the natives soon outnumbered the colonists; but President Roberts seemed not to be alarmed, lest the admission of so many uncivilized citizens to the new commonwealth should extinguish the influence brought over from America. The unpicturesque European dress-coat and the ugly cylindrical hat have become here, as in the Pacific, the symbol of civilization. The Aborigines accept it, on becoming citizens of Liberia, and they send their children, sometimes for a distance of two hundred miles, to the schools, which have been established by the Liberian Government—forty in number. The English language and Christianity are spreading fast amongst the native tribes. Those who came from America are nearly all Methodists and Baptists, and have a press and weekly paper in Monrovia, the Capital of Liberia.

The Constitution of Liberia is republican, and resembles that of the United States, except that it has no States in federation; in consequence, the counties here, instead of States, send, irrespective of their population, one Senator each to the Upper House, whilst the Representatives are elected in proportion to the population.

The products of the Black Republic are timber, palm-oil, rice, spices, cassava, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables, but no cotton; for the Liberians have an insurmountable antipathy against cotton-fields, which are coupled in their recollection with slavery and bondage.

In immediate proximity with the Liberian Republic lies a second and independent State, entitled, "*Maryland in*

Liberia," which has been established, not by the *American Colonization Society*, but by the Maryland society for the same purpose. The union of this second smaller colony with the larger establishment would be very desirable for the welfare of the Republic, but as yet the political difficulties could not be surmounted; and really the union of the two States on terms of equality is hardly conceivable, whilst the melting of one into the other is, as yet, too unpopular, since it implies the recognition of the superiority of one of the two States; but, sooner or later, it will be accomplished. As Liberia borders on one side on the English Colony of Sierra Leone, and on the other on the semi-civilized nation of the Kroomen, she is only on the eastern frontier exposed to inroads and hostilities, and the well-armed militia has already given proofs of its valor and promptitude. In 1850 it most successfully defended the country against the wild negroes, when they attacked the tribes which had sought refuge and protection with the Republic.

As nearly all the parties in America, with the exception of the Garrison abolitionists, take great interest in the transportation scheme, there is little doubt that Liberia will increase steadily, and may, perhaps, become the nucleus of a large African Empire.

CHAPTER III.

THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI.

I. THE RIVER AND THE STEAMBOAT.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary, March* 18*th.*)

Our friends accompanied us yesterday evening to the steamboat. The Hungarians, about twelve of whom live in St. Louis, bade us an affectionate farewell; the Americans introduced several of the passengers to us, with whom we were to steam down the river; merchants, editors, planters. We asked in how many days we were to get to New Orleans, and understood that it was quite impossible to determine it with any precision: for, though the river was very high, and therefore the sand-banks, snags, and sawyers were not likely to detain us; yet, as the boat was to complete her cargo on the route, the amount of cotton bales deposited on the banks could not be calculated beforehand.

A Mississippi steamer seems to be built on the model of the ark of Noah. The flat bottom without a keel draws little water, and affords considerable space in its broad dimensions. A row of horses, mules, and no small quantity of cattle are fastened all round the far projecting ground floor of the floating palace; piles of merchandise and heaps of wood occupy every corner. Colored people stretch themselves on the cotton bales and hover around the engine furnace. Above, there is the large saloon of the passengers divided into three compartments: the bar-room,

where the gentlemen smoke, chew, drink and gamble; the spacious dining-room, and the ladies' drawing-room. The doors between the two latter divisions are open the whole day, yet the gentlemen most conscientiously respect the line of demarcation, and leave the ladies to themselves, who oscillate silently on the rocking chairs. All along the saloon are the "state rooms," just large enough to contain two berths, two chairs, and a washing-stand; they open on one side to the saloon, on the other to the gallery running all round the steamer. One story higher is the deck, where the passengers enjoy the fresh breeze; a tower with large glass windows overlooks and completes the terrace-like architecture of the boat—it is the pilot's house.

The night was most unpleasant. The chilly wind blew freely into our state-room, and the ladies' drawing-room, heated by a stove, was occupied by the maid servants of the lady passengers. In the dining-room, I am told, the passengers who have no state room, with the men servants and waiters, sleep in two rows, men, women, children, white and colored, promiscuously. It was so cold during the day, that I only occasionally could go on deck to see the scenery.

As with all the Western waters, the banks of the Mississippi are at a considerably lower level than that of the surrounding country. On both sides of the river the land rises rapidly, some times into lime-bluffs of two and three hundred feet, which in several places resemble the ruins of crenated walls and towers. Between the bluffs and the river extends a strip of land varying in width, mostly covered with wood. These strips are called *bottoms*. Where they are sloping, the wood is cleared, and settlements appear, but it is a marshy land, and though the rich alluvial soil yields abundant crops, they are dearly paid by the ague which is endemic here. In general, the bottoms are flat and subject to frequent inundations, they are little cul-

tivated, and the banks of the Mississippi look here as if agriculture had not yet extended its sway to the West; the waters roll through the primitive wilderness.

I sat in the drawing-room, much astonished, that there was so little social intercourse between the gentlemen and the ladies. I thought I was in a Moravian settlement, where the sexes are always separated. Suddenly the scene changes, the dinner-bell rings, and *in* rush the gentlemen, with the eagerness of the Romans when they seized the Sabine ladies,—they offer their arm and carry them to the dinner-table, where some other gentlemen are already seated. But they must rise and yield the precedency to those who arrive under the patronage of the fair sex; if there is no spare room at the bottom of the table, they have to wait for it till dinner is served a second time.

I cannot accustom myself to the Western fare in the hotels and on the boats. Instead of giving a few, cleanly prepared, plain dishes, the table is covered with dainties, with jellies and creams, ices, French sauces and sweets, a most unfortunate attempt to match English with French cookery, without the rude cleanliness of the first, or the savory refinement of the latter. But the passengers obviously do not care how the dishes taste, provided that they sound well on the bill of fare, satisfied to find on it every thing they could command at the Café de Paris, or the Frères Provenceaux. They are fond of the idea that America is the first country of the world, also as respects the culinary art. Even the water looks unpalatable; it is the Mississippi water with all the mud of its bottoms dissolved by the melting snow.

"How do you like America, sir? Is it not a great country?" said a gentleman to Mr. Pulszky.

"Of course, it is," was the answer.

"Have you found any thing here which fell short of your expectation?"

"Your political institutions are admirable," replied Mr. Pulszky, "your people are enterprising and energetic; but, after all, there is nothing perfect under the sun."

"Well, sir, what can you object to?" continued the American, a planter, who probably wished to open thus a discussion on slavery. Mr. Pulszky took up his glass and said:

"For instance, I object to the mud in the Mississippi water which you drink."

"Sir," retorted the American, "it has been chemically analyzed and compared with the waters of other rivers, and it was ascertained that the Ganges as well as the Nile contain several per cent. more of animal matter than the Mississippi."

"I have every regard for the sacred rivers of the Hindoos and the Egyptians," said Mr. Pulszky, "yet I am ready to give the palm to your Father of Rivers. Only I do not see why the mud of the Himalaya and of the Abyssinian mountains should justify you in drinking the mud of the Western prairie. Don't you know here the use of filters?

"Sir," exclaimed the American indignantly, "how should we not?"

"Then why do you not filter your water?" asked Mr. Pulszky.

Without hesitating one moment, the planter replied: "We are such a *go-ahead people* that we have no time to filter our water."

After the passengers had taken their meals at the first and second table, it was the turn of the children and the white and black nurses. The parents seemed not much to care how they fared; they were fed on the remnants of our dinner. The colored nurses looked, on the whole, inattentive and sullen.

March 19th.—Our friends from Iowa gave me yesterday a lively description of their life in the backwoods.

Soon after the arrival of Ujhazy on the banks of the Thompson River, when he and his party had hardly pitched their tent, a young backwoodsman came on horseback up to them, and said: "Which is the daughter of the Hungarian General?" Miss Ujhazy, who spoke English, asked him what he wanted? "I reckon it's time for me to marry," was the reply, "and I came to propose to you." The young lady began to laugh, but her novel suitor declared that he was in full earnest; that he did not live far off, and that he would assist her father in every way. But when he saw that his proposal was not accepted, he rode off to his business, without having alighted from his horse during the conversation. The Hungarians afterwards learned that in the backwoods not much time is wasted in courting young ladies, or paying them attention before marriage. The pioneer visits a neighbor who has grown-up daughters, and asks: "How do you do?" he places himself on a chair before the chimney, chews, spits in the fire, and utters not another word. After a while, he takes his leave, and when he has paid a couple of such taciturn calls, he says to the young lady: "I reckon I should marry you." The answer is commonly: "I have no objection." The couple, without further ceremony, proceed to the Justice of Peace and make their declaration, and when the missionary Methodist happens to come in their neighborhood, the civil marriage is solemnized religiously.

The mutual assistance which the pioneers afford to one another, is truly Christian. The neighbors help the new settler by clearing the ground for him, and by building his log-house. On a given day they arrive on the spot, as to a feast; they fell the timber where the house is to stand, and another day they come and put it up. This they call "log-rolling." They lend their tools, even their ploughs, to those who have none; but, on the other side, they expect to be supplied in the same way with tea, sugar, or

other provisions, when their own stock runs short before they can get it from the distant towns.

Many of them are squatters, that is to say, they have settled on Congress land before it has been offered for sale. As first occupiers, they have the right of pre-emption at the Congress price, when their lot is exposed to public auction. In case they cannot afford the cash, their improvements are paid by the buyer. This last point is the *backwood law*, not the law of the Union; yet, there is no instance known between the Mississippi and the Missouri, of a squatter being dispossessed of his settlement by the buyer of the Congressional title, without the purchase of his consent.

The backwoodsmen must, of course, forego all the comforts of refined life, and have to toil with many hardships. Ujhazy told me that the rattle-snakes, especially during the inundations in spring, came up to his house; in the first year he killed thirty-six; his little boy had killed one in the pantry. But the snakes are very lazy in Iowa, and easy to be killed. Boots are an effective protection against them, as they never raise their heads above four inches. The cattle (so he assured us) are here much tamer than in Europe; the sheep and swine know the call of their master, and come to him at his whistle. As the transport of corn is too expensive in those parts, the produce is chiefly cattle and pigs, which carry *themselves* to the market. The settlers produce only as much corn as they require for themselves, for their poultry and their cattle. In spring a considerable quantity of maple-sugar is produced by boiling the sap of the maple-tree; and, though the woods are no longer a hunting ground for Indian tribes, some of these still visit them pretty often, to obtain sugar from this source. As Ujhazy had settled on the very edge of civilization, an Indian chief came on to his ground with his tribe; but as soon as he understood how far the Hun-

garians claimed the woods, they did not encroach on the maples within this imaginary boundary.

In winter, the squatters have more leisure, and wish to dance. A ball is to be got up, nor is amusement the sole thing considered. The Squire who projects to give gratification, hopes, at the same time, to fill his pocket; and opens negotiations with some neighbor, by saying: "I reckon we should fix a ball for the whole neighborhood." A meeting is accordingly called together, and the resolution carried, unanimously, that the *ball is to be fixed.* But the second resolution meets with more difficulties, as it is, likewise, to *be fixed* at whose house the ball is to be held, and many are anxious to get the job. The undertaker puts forth his pretensions, and promises the most exquisite dainties. After great discussions, this question, too, is settled. The day is appointed; the entrance fee for a gentleman is one dollar, and he has the right to introduce a lady. The preparations now begin. All the neighbors who had not attended the meeting, are visited, and invited to the ball. They are expected to lend knives, forks, spoons, cups and tumblers to the common feast. The log-house, where the great event is to take place, is scrubbed; the floor is smoothed with the axe; wood is piled up in the yard. If the Squire cannot provide sufficient venison, sugar, and tea, his neighbors must do it, and deduct the price from the entrance fee. On the eve of the great day, several of the neighboring ladies are enrolled for the kitchen; wheaten and Indian corn bread is baked; *squash* (pumpkin) and mince pies are prepared; fowls are boiled; pork and venison roasted; and the jugs are filled with whisky.

Already, at ten o'clock in the morning, the gentlemen begin to arrive; they are inclined to enjoy as much as possible, and take out every farthing of their money. After the whisky-jug has been handed round, one of them takes up the fiddle, and the others practise a little the or-

thodox steps of the dances handed down from father to son through so many generations that the original French and English measure is scarcely to be recognized. But they are soon interrupted by cries—"Here they are!" The guests are just turning round the hill; a long row of carts approaches, crowded with ladies, who sit on chairs placed in the carts. The procession is headed by the spokesman of the company, appointed to his office by the squire. The gentlemen arrive on horseback; bullock-carts are in the rear, intermixed with strange riders—man, wife and children on one and the same horse. In the yard they alight; "How do you do?" and "Where the deuce have you been staying so long?" is asked on every side. The ladies, wrapped in their red, blue, or white blankets, enter the house and throng round the chimney, and restore themselves from the chill by a hot beverage composed of warmed whisky and honey, whilst the gentlemen remain in the yard around the big fire, smoking, chewing, and freezing. When the ladies have put their dresses right, and arranged all their many-colored ribbons and fineries, bought by the pioneers in the markets of Iowa and Indiana, the Squire presents himself at the door and shouts out: "Ladies, dinner is ready; boys, take your partners!" The gentlemen press in, and proceed each with his fair partner to the other room, where the tables are laid; but as there is never sufficient space, the gentlemen have again to retreat, and a guard watches the door, that the ladies may take their dinner quietly. After them, it is the turn of the gentlemen; and when they have done, the spokesman begins to collect the charge for the entertainment, and the *extra* for the fiddle. He exerts all his eloquence to rouse the generosity of the guests, and to get more than the fee agreed for. He speaks about the unparalleled trouble and expenses of the undertaker, and how splendid has been the dinner; he addresses the

wealthier settlers by name, and says: "Fellow, you can pay double." But the backwoodsmen are tough; they protest that they cannot afford more than the others, and they find fault with the dinner. At last, the money is collected; the fiddling begins; the great-coat and the muskrat-cap are thrown aside; and in their ball-costumes of antiquated cut,—but all with very dashing shirt-collars—they present themselves again to the ladies. It is a strange exhibition of all the different fashions of the last twenty years; a tailor of long standing would at once find out in what year those gentlemen have left the civilization of cities for the backwoods. The room is small, therefore only eight pairs are allowed to dance at once; they jump, they stamp and jerk, until they are out of breath; the gentlemen chew, but whilst they dance they do not spit. But at once the fiddler puts down the bow, and declares that he will not play any longer without additional pay; he is tired—he cannot do more. The spokesman—who has to keep up order—steps forth, appeals to the generosity of the company, and endeavors, on the other side, to lower the pretensions of the musician, until a new bargain is concluded. The whisky is again tasted; at midnight supper is served, though the Squire protests that he is out of provisions; the dance continues till morning; and, after breakfast, the party returns as it came.

March 19th.—We tarried for 36 hours opposite to Cairo, at the conflux of the Ohio and Mississippi. Large quantities of cotton were here piled up on the banks, and until they were safely stowed into the boat, we had to wait. No signs of impatience were manifested at this delay. It is still very cold; the trees are leafless. Wild ducks and turkey-buzzards enliven the dreary scenery. In comparison with the enormous width of the Mississippi, the trees on the banks, and even the cliffs which overhang them, seem dwarfish. There is little variety along the river; no

mountain peaks, no intersecting valleys, no succession of hills and dales,—nothing but the monotonous majesty of the waters between marshy woods, which cover the ground up to the bluffs running along, approaching here, receding there, but always at the same general level. It is somewhat like the measured cadence of a lengthy epic poem—grand but wearisome. I doubt much whether Chateaubriand, who described the great river so poetically, has ever seen it, unless he has mistaken the raccoons for monkeys, and the woodpeckers for parrots. The most saddening sight are the hulks of steamers jutting out from the waves. From St. Louis, it is the sixth we saw this morning; the Mississippi is here a large burial-ground.*

We stopped again for a couple of hours to take in wood. The gentlemen went ashore, and we saw that they had fallen in with some unfortunate rabbits. Armed with logs of wood, they gave them the chase. One of our party missed the rabbit, and was laughed at; but a big Yankee caught the frightened animal, that had jumped into the swamp: he strangled it immediately, and brought it to the boat with the exclamation—"I have saved it!" A rather curious mode of saving.

I went down to the lower cabin, and found here a most courteous negro woman. She spoke good English, French and German, with equal facility; she told me she liked her mistress very well, but she had only been with her for eight weeks past. she was a kind mistress and nursed her whilst she was ill. Previously she had been for two years in a German family. I asked her whether she was free? She said she was a slave, but she was rented out by her

* In 1849, the total number of steamboats destroyed and totally lost amounted to 83 on the Western waters: 28 more were seriously damaged. In 1850, the number of boats destroyed was 119; the total of lives lost, 320. In 1851, boats lost, 109; lives lost, 454.

master. Her children are with her, her master stays at St. Louis, her husband is at New Orleans.

I had a long conversation with a lady from Missouri, whose husband kept a store in a small town on the river, and had a plantation of thirty-five negroes, in the vicinity. She said that they never sold one, except when he was very bad; that negroes behave generally well; that they were merry, singing and dancing in the evening,—and for twenty-two years she had never lost one by death.

March 10th.—We became acquainted with our fellow-travellers. The most interesting among them was Colonel Gilpin, a distinguished officer of the Mexican war, one of the companions of Colonel Fremont, on his first exploring expedition across the Rocky Mountains, to Utah, California and Oregon. He is a democrat, a great admirer of old Thomas Benton, the Missouri statesman, the father of Mrs. Fremont. We spoke about slavery. Colonel Gilpin finds it an institution most beneficial for the black race, who, says he, are trained by it to civilization. The slaves in America, according to him, are physically and morally far superior to any tribe in Africa. Bondage has become to them the means of education, and, though perhaps injurious, in some cases, to the individual, it has raised the condition of the great bulk. I asked how he could reconcile slavery to the freedom of the United States, and to the principles of the Declaration of Independence? He answered: "Greece and Rome had slaves, barbarians. Wherever different races live together, the superior race exterminates the less endowed one, lest it is protected by serfage; and so you see here three millions of blacks, living peacefully amongst comparatively few whites, without military force, without large prisons; we can almost say, without police. The slaves," continued he, "have generally no longing for liberty; manumission is for them a punishment, as it is difficult for them to care for themselves.

Mr. Atchinson, the Senator for Missouri, had an old slave, who had grown up in the family, and whom he liked very much. One morning black Ben was accused by one of the neighbors of having stolen some victuals. Mr. Atchinson immediately summoned the servant, and said: 'Old boy, you are accused of theft; I cannot believe that you should have turned a rogue; confess what you have done.' Ben remained silent, and seemed very much ashamed. 'I see it is true,' said his master; 'but now I tell you, Ben, if you ever again do such a thing, I will set you free, and you will have to shift for yourself.' Ben promised to be good, being frightened by the threat." I do not doubt the accuracy of the anecdote, for, I know that free colored persons are not tolerated in the State of Missouri without a special license; for Ben, therefore, freedom would have been equivalent to exile.

With Mr. Cobb, the editor of an industrial and statistical monthly paper in St. Louis, we had a long conversation on poetry, art, and the future of America. He is a great admirer of Göthe, and has the most sanguine expectations as to the future of his country, and especially of the West. He compared the citizens of the United States with the Romans, who had organized the countries under their sway, who had civilized the people, who had introduced art and literature amongst the barbarians, and had assimilated the provinces to Rome. Mr. Pulszky remarked, that the Germans had not yet given up the idea, that the West might become their inheritance, and that the power of assimilating other races to themselves is perhaps not so strong in the Anglo-Saxons as it is generally thought. The admirer of Göthe replied in good earnest: "It is not impossible that the Germans may overrun us; the Goths and Vandals likewise defeated Rome when it seemed most powerful."

After dinner, we took a walk on the gallery; we saw

nothing but a forest springing up out of a marsh; the Mississippi had overflooded all the bottoms from bluff to bluff. I saw in the mire a log cabin, around which stood piles of wood. A negro family was in the cabin: I asked how they could live there, and was told that a canoe is attached to the cabin, and if the waters rise too high, the family seeks another abode on a drier spot in the woods, which belong yet to the central government, as the soil is too swampy to be cultivated. Those poor people, therefore, fell the timber, which is in fact the property of anybody; they sell it to the steamboats, and get in return provisions to live upon. They are squatters without permanent abodes, most of them free colored men.

As an instance how deeply the aristocracy of color is rooted, Colonel Gilpin related to us the following fact: At the time of the last Spanish Governor in Upper Louisiana, Dehault de la Susse, Hester, a beautiful free quadroon, dwelt at St. Louis, and found great favor in his eyes. Hester lived and died in affluence, and bequeathed by her will her fortune, about $20,000, to her son, who had disappeared as a boy. Colonel O'Fallen, one of the executors, took all pains to ascertain what had become of Hester's son. At last, he traced him to Baton Rouge, in Louisiana, where he kept a billiard-room, and lived in very straitened circumstances; he passed himself off for a Spaniard, and disclaimed all relationship to Hester. The executor wrote to him to come to St. Louis in order to get the bequest of his mother; but the poor man gave up the fortune rather than to acknowledge that he was the descendant of a colored person. He said, he did not know who Hester was, and had no claim whatever to the property.

A gentleman from Missouri described to us the attractions of the buffalo-chase on the Western prairies amongst Indians and trappers. He found that those half-savage trappers are much more brutal than the Indians, and he

said that civilized travellers not seldom encourage their recklessness. An English tourist, who visited the Far West for the excitement of the buffalo-chase, (the planter gave us the name,*) found one morning in the Western prairies that his Manton-rifle and his horse were missing. The Indian, too, whom he had hired as a kind of attendant, had disappeared. He fell into a passion, and offered two hundred dollars for the scalp of the Indian. *Mark Heath*, the trapper, immediatly galloped off, and in a few hours returned with the rifle, the horse and the bloody scalp; he had shot the unsuspecting Indian, who was on his way back to the camp, after having killed a buffalo with the rifle, because the company was short of provisions. Such horrible tragedies must be borne in mind, when we hear of the treacherous conduct of Indians towards the whites.

March 21.—Since we have reached Memphis, we feel that we have stepped into spring. The change is striking. Higher up it was winter; here we see the trees in their spring garment, the red bud is in flower, the sycamore, the elm-tree, the cotton-wood on the banks are all green, the oaks alone tower yet bare over them. Yesterday evening the sun-set was magnificent. The dark blue sky reminded us that we are under the same latitude with Algiers and Asia Minor. A beautiful forest-island divided the river into two large sheets of water, reflecting the golden beams of the sinking sun, and the rosy tinges of the western sky. When the fiery orb sank down behind the trees, the ripples of the river glittered in purple hue, until the fading twilight had spread its uniform silver-gray all around, and night set in.

Mr. and Mrs. Charless, their beautiful and accomplished

* After our return to England, we found that the name of the individual who passed himself off for an English baronet, was not to be found in Burke's Hand-book: the tourist must have been a swindler.

daughter, and their niece, are most pleasant companions. Mrs. Charless told me that she never kept colored servants; they require constant watching, as they are idle, and you cannot rely on them. But now she had a mulatto cook. Her mother had, by her will, manumitted all her slaves; one of the girls had married a colored man, who passed for free in St. Louis,—he was a fugitive. His master traced him to St. Louis; the poor man was arrested and thrown into jail. His wife immediately hastened to Mrs. Charless and entreated her on her knees to buy him. She did it, and he ever since had remained cook in the house; his wife is the housekeeper, and their children are of course free, as they always follow the condition of the mother. I saw Mack, and I conversed with him. He is constantly occupied with the children of the niece of Mrs. Charless, of whom he seems eminently fond; he considers himself obviously a member of the family. But there is another black nurse here on board, ugly as a monkey, unclean and untidy. I asked her whether she liked the children of her mistress, who were under her care. She replied: "I cannot bear them; I hate to be a nurse."

I sat on the gallery and looked at the plantations, which we see wherever the ground is hilly and not liable to inundation. A large house stands here in a garden; it is evidently the abode of the planter; another house a little smaller and plainer with a bell before the door belongs to the overseer. Behind it there are several rows of low huts, the cabins of the slaves. It was a fine view, it looked very idyllic. An old lady sat down to me and said: "Poor people on those plantations. I know this life well, my husband was a planter. The slave who has to toil hardest is not the black; it is the wife of the planter, the lady of the manor. She has to care for the food, the apparel and cleanliness of so many utterly helpless beings and their children, and must do this under very difficult circum-

stances, far from the cities, in a country where the means of communication are very restricted. She must see that the invalids be nursed and that care be taken of the children, as the death of a slave is always a serious loss to the planter. Southern ladies living in the country are much to be pitied; in fact, their husbands often remove to the cities for the sake of their wives, and leave the plantation to the care of the overseers; and where this people rule the slaves are generally badly off. At four in the morning, men and women are driven to work, and as they are very susceptible to cold, they suffer in early spring more in the chilly mornings than the whites. The children and babies remain on the plantation in the charge of an old woman, no longer able to work. All the field-hands get in the morning their raw provisions: salt meat, Indian corn, flour, beans and onions; they cook it in the evening, and where no lady controls the pantry, the overseer often gives them less and of inferior quality than he accounts for to the planter. The rich proprietor, who owns many distant plantations, rarely visits them; when this happens, he asks the slaves occasionally, whether they have any complaints; but they do not dare to accuse the overseer, who has the power of whipping them. The proprietor has an interest in the well-being of the slaves, he very often feels the responsibility of his position, and he generally gives orders to treat them well; but the overseer has no interest connected with the negroes, he gets his pay, and is sure not to be discharged as long as the plantation yields a fair revenue. He is not much controlled, he has many an inducement to defraud his master and the slaves, and being without higher education, his passions and the desire to enforce his authority, lead him often to ill treat the negroes. They are flogged, even the women, and with cruel indecency, care being only taken not to disable them from working and from giving birth to children. The

legislature has everywhere passed severe laws to secure humane treatment for the slaves. One of the regulations prohibits Sunday-work, in order to afford them a day of rest. But the planter frequently, especially during harvest, pays a trifle to the slaves, and induces them to work even on the day of rest. As negroes are not allowed to sue their master or the overseer, or even to give evidence, the enforcement of the law is abandoned to the chance of a white man accusing the planter. On lonely plantations this is almost impossible; therefore it sometimes happens here that the overseer is killed by the slaves. But if such a thing occurs, the criminals rarely come before a court of justice, they are generally 'lynched.' Where the plantations are more dense, the slaves are better treated; one neighbor controls the other, and the planters live there more often on their property, as their families have more amusement and more social intercourse."

II. MISSISSIPPI AND LOUISIANA—THE BAYOU STATE AND THE CREOLE STATE.

March 24.—On Friday the night was clouded, and rain sprinkled down, when we stepped from the boat at Vicksburg, the chief commercial city of the State of Mississippi. Kossuth and Madame Kossuth wished to pay their respects to Mr. Foote, the Governor of the State, who, in the Spring of 1851, had moved in Congress the resolution to employ the good offices of the government for the release of the Hungarian exiles in Turkey, and to convey them on a man-of-war to the United States. We were not expected in Vicksburg, and therefore had great difficulty to get rooms, as the place was crowded, and great excitement prevailed on account of the municipal elections, which had just taken place. Mr. Pulszky and the rest of our party continued their route to New Orleans. When I woke in

the morning, everything appeared to me unusually quiet. I first fancied it must be a holiday; the open shops, however, showed that I was mistaken; but the busy movement of the commercial places in the North, was not visible here; all seemed still, lifeless, and idle. We strolled about the place; it was burningly hot, so we kept to the lanes, where the groves of myrtle and the hedges of roses in full bloom, shadowed our way. We felt transplanted, as by a charm, into the sunny South. A week back we had left St. Louis cold and wintry; now all around us was bloom, luxuriant vegetation and magnificent growth. The houses are charming, galleries on columns run around the high wooden structures, standing in the midst of gardens, where the exuberant splendor of southern nature supplies the lack of art. We found the climate too oppressive to continue our walk, and therefore we accepted the offer of the Rev. Mr. Marshall to take a ride about the town. The sod was everywhere as green as with us in the month of May, whilst the heat was that of July in Hungary. We ascended a hill overlooking the Mississippi, which here in a bold sweep bends its solemn course. I wondered why no vines were planted on the sunny heights around, which seemed to be used only as pasture-ground. Mr. Marshall said, that no culture yielded here such fair return as cotton, and that the population was not so dense as to compel them to take up less productive soil.

In the afternoon we left on the railway for Jackson, the seat of the Mississippi government. It is the only railway in the State,—a frail structure,—where even the viaducts are of wood—a pair of parallel beams with rails nailed to them, and supported by poles. I missed my purse, and went to the luggage car to see whether I had not left it in my carpet-bag. Here I found a mulatto woman with five children, two of whom had fine blue eyes, and were almost white. I asked her whither she was

going; she did not know exactly,—she had been sold; her husband had been obliged to remain in Vicksburg: "He is almost white," said she; "separation is very hard, very hard indeed!" She did not know whether he would follow her.

The vegetation along the road was remarkably rich; dogwood with white blossoms, green oaks with the southern appendage of the silvery Spanish moss, which hangs down from the branches like the beard of an old man; magnolias, sycamores, and here and there a dark cypress. The plantations looked very dismal; we saw no hands at work, the cotton was sown, but had not yet sprung up. In three hours we reached Jackson. At the terminus Kossuth was greeted by a deputation, and speeches were exchanged. We saw that the intrigues to arouse the slaveholding, conservative South against the cause of Hungary, had not succeeded. We were installed in a carriage and four, and were carried over the small city, in which the Capitol is the only building of any importance. It stands at the top of a white street bordered by trees; the whole town consists of a few lanes of this kind. At a few yards from the capitol, at the gate of a comfortably large house, surrounded by a garden, a gentleman greeted us—it was Governor Foote. A meeting of the citizens was held in the House of Representatives, now empty, because the Legislature was not in session, and the official introductions took up the time till late in the evening. The hotel was of the poorest description, a wretched abode; but the landlord received us at the bottom of the stairs with Spanish grandezza. Carpets, painted blinds, and purple calico counterpanes, showed attempts at finery; but the ceiling and the walls looked as if they could not resist a strong wind; the supper was in the Western style, and the colored girls who served it, looked like the dishes, untidy and neglected. I chanced to come into the yard when they

were just washing the china, and was astonished to see how comfortably they managed to do work. They were all sitting before the water-tubs, and little boys were running to and fro, handing to them the plates and saucers, and carrying them back, after they had been carelessly dipped into the water.

March 25th.—We spent the day in the family of Governor Foote; we found them all charming, liberal-minded, and highly well-bred. They held no slaves, though Mrs. Foote said that she did not object to the system; she had seen it acting most beneficially in the house and on the plantation of her father. But some years back Governor Foote had been obliged to part with his slaves, and the separation affected the family so deeply, that they never since would have them again as property; they hired them now from slave-owners.

The young ladies had gone to church to be baptized. It is not uncommon here in America, on account of the different sects, not to baptize children, but to leave them to choose for themselves afterwards, when they are old enough to decide to what church they wish to belong. I understood that, in the South, young ladies even of Protestant families are often educated in Roman Catholic nunneries, owing to the scarcity of good lady-schools. We took a ride in the neighborhood, which is as yet little cultivated. Around the ponds we saw magnificent cactuses and palms (*Chamacrops humilis.*) It was a southern Italian scenery. The evening we spent with music, for which the taste seems here greatly alive.

The pay of the Governor is here, as all over the new States, (with the exception of California,) only three thousand dollars a year; and as the term of the Chief Magistrate lasts only for two years, it is not a great inducement for a man without fortune to seek the honors of Government, especially as the Governor is expected to

be very hospitable, and to keep an open house for all the citizens. And yet the institutions of the United States, this self-government with its numerous elections, is most admirably calculated to keep alive the spirit of freedom in the people, and to grant satisfaction to legitimate ambition, whilst at the same time it checks every attempt at usurpation. Besides, the numerous offices in the towns, and in the State and at the bar, all filled by election, a young man may be chosen first to be Representative in the State legislature; then he becomes a Senator of the State; if he has not lost his popularity he is returned to represent his district in Congress at Washington; he becomes a candidate for the post of Governor in his State; when he has served his term, the Legislature may send him to the Senate in Washington; if distinguished by his acquirements, he may become one of the official advisers of the President, a Head of Department, or he aspires to the highest post in the Union. It is a long ladder of honors and services which leads to the White House, as long, almost, as to become Pope. No young man can reach the summit, though youth in America is for every other position no disadvantage in a public man. I have seen several Senators under forty, and many Judges under thirty years.

Governor Foote passed long years in Washington, and looks like an English statesman more than any of the Governors we yet have met with. He has comprehensive views on the policy of the United States, not only on that of Mississippi; but it is difficult to carry order into the financial affairs of the Bayou State; it requires a statesmanship of the first rank, as the mismanagement of former times, and the operations of the State Bank, which has squandered the foreign loan in advances to insolvent planters, instead of applying it to works of public utility, has rendered the financial condition of the State quite hopeless.

I asked from whence the nickname of the State was derived, and was told that the swamps of the Mississippi, and its dead branches, were called Bayous by the French.

March 26th.—This morning we proceeded to the Terminus, accompanied by Governor Foote and several other gentlemen and ladies. In Vicksburg, people boisterously entreated Kossuth to address them, but we steamed off.

March 28th.—We are at New Orleans; the Crescent City, as it is styled from the regular semicircular bend of the Mississippi, on which the city has been laid out. All through the State of Louisiana the river runs between dykes, like the Po in Italy; they are called here *levees*, and the level of the water is considerably higher than that of the surrounding plain. The bluffs have disappeared since Natchez; the country is flat, the woods extirpated along the banks; cotton and sugar plantations suceeed one another without interruption; the houses of the planters are surrounded by groves of orange trees. The State has the aspect of an old country deprived of all forest trees, yet people call it the garden of the United States; probably on account of the orange-groves, certainly not on account of picturesque loveliness, which the eye seeks here in vain.

The planters on the lower Mississippi are commended for their hospitality. Mr. Pulszky told me, that whilst the steamer stopped to take in wood, he, along with a score of passengers, went to take a walk on the banks of the river. They saw a very nice plantation; a gentleman who chanced to be at the door of the house, invited them to step in. Not one of the company was acquainted with the proprietor; yet he and the ladies who were in the house, accidental visitors from Tennessee, received them with the cordiality of old friends, and would not allow them to leave before they had partook of several glasses of Champagne. On their return to the boat they

met an elderly, vigorous, stout negro; one of the passengers, a planter, observed to Mr. Pulszky, "You see how well they are kept. Old boy," continued he, addressing the black, "you are well off. Do you like your master?" "A good master," replied the slave, "we like him." "You have, of course, been reared here on the plantation?" asked the planter, glad of the opportunity to show the patriarchal character of the "peculiar institution." "No, sir," was the answer, "I am from Virginny; I have been sold often, but I have already been two years here."

The landing-place at New Orleans is magnificent; a forest of masts and chimneys towers over the river. But the city itself does not answer to its reputation of *Little Paris;* it is more like a provincial town in France, badly paved, badly drained, badly kept.

III. NEW ORLEANS.

March 28th.—I have, in these last days, read much on the history of Louisiana. It is full of romantic incidents. The first settlement is made by d'Iberville; his brother, Bienville, lays out the city of New Orleans. The province becomes the property of the Paris merchant-prince, Crozat; the famous Law and the Western company build upon that basis the notorious Mississippi Bubble, whose bursting disturbs the finances of France. The colony, however, increases, and has to struggle with the semi-civilized tribe of the Natchez; the war lasts long, and it is difficult to say, which side was guilty of a greater amount of wickedness and cruelty, until the tribe is annihilated, and its remnants sold as slaves to St. Domingo. Then comes a series of governmental blunders, a continual meddling with the administration of the colony, until at last it is transferred to Spain in 1769. O'Reilly, the first Spanish governor, re-enacts in New Orleans the tragedies of Abbé

Alva, and the colonial spirit of independence is drowned by him in the blood of the best citizens, though they had not risen against the new authority. In the same year the yellow fever was introduced here by a British vessel from the coasts of Africa, *carrying a cargo of slaves.* The restrictive colonial system of Spain hemmed the commerce and the increase of the colony; the change from France to Spain was for the worse, until in 1782, a more liberal policy was adopted. But the navigation of the Mississippi closed or opened to the citizens of the United States, according to the convenience of the Spanish court, was a dangerous engine against the tranquillity of the new American Republic. Therefore, when Louisiana, of course, without consulting the wishes of the colonists, was again transferred to France, by the treaty of Bayonne, an attempt was made by President Jefferson to buy New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi, but the First Consul liberally sold the whole colony to the United States.

So many changes of government had great influence on the character of the *Creoles.* Though all whites, who are born in a sub-tropical country, come under this designation, without reference to the birth-place of their parents, still the descendants of the early French and Spanish colonists are the *Creoles proper* in Louisiana. They consider themselves the Patricians of the land, they are cautious and exclusive, proud of their descent; they speak the French language, are Roman Catholics by religion, and keep aloof from the immigrating populations of the other States who remain for them foreigners, different in language, in habits and in creed. At the same time they are yet more distrustful of the new-comers from France, often men of superior acquirements, in every case more enterprising than the somewhat idle old creole stock. At the elections therefore the creoles never give their vote for a Frenchman naturalized in America, they rather give it to a Yankee.

The Anglo-Saxon Americans, and especially the New Englanders, were soon attracted to New Orleans by the uncommonly advantageous site of the city, but they dwell in a different quarter, built and paved and drained in the American style. About 25,000 Germans and many Irish have also settled here, mostly in the suburb "Lafayette," which has lately been annexed to the city. New Orleans, as regards population, now ranks among the cities of the Union between Baltimore and Cincinnati; in commercial interest above them. It has a bad repute for morality, but the Creoles point to the criminal statistics, which prove that crime in the "Crescent City" is not more frequent than anywhere else. They assert that they are calumniated, only because they cling to their French custom of keeping the shops open on Sunday, and of enjoying music, races and theatres in the afternoon and in the evening even of that day. They, on the other side, think the Anglo-Saxons very wicked, because they do not attach any great importance to the commandment of honoring father and mother; for sons seldom consult their parents when they marry, and even the daughters choose for themselves; whilst a young lady of French descent never would dare to do so. Another reason for the bad fame of the place may perhaps be, that the use of wine is deemed here a preservation against the marsh-fevers. New Orleans, therefore, imports more wine from France than all the other seaports of the Union together. Duels formerly prevailed to such an extent, that the last Constitution of the State, framed in 1845, found it necessary to declare all those who fight, or are seconds to a duel, incapable of holding any office of trust or profit. The French language is here generally spoken and understood, but the English begins to prevail; it has become the official language of the legislature and of the records of the city. The plantations, step by step, pass over into the hands of Anglo-Saxons, who are more

enterprising and more thriving than the French and Spaniards.

As business is transacted in New Orleans only for nine months out of the twelve, and the three summer months belong to the dead season on account of the fevers, the prices and wages in every branch are here higher than in any other city of the Union. Between 20,000 and 30,000 people, the wealthiest part of the population, leave New Orleans in June; whilst, in winter, many Northerners enjoy here the Southern climate. But it is a hobby of the citizens to say that New Orleans, in respect to health, has been much and unjustly abused. Pulmonary diseases, at least, which ravage the North, are unheard of in this hot and moist climate.

When we arrived, the city was in great excitement on account of the strongly contested municipal election. The Whigs carried the day by a very small majority; the Democrats were much excited, but the agitation soon subsided. We are here again the guests of the city, in the splendid St. Louis Exchange Hotel, where, in a magnificent rotunda, surrounded by arcades and galleries, commercial business is transacted every day. It is the Exchange and the Auction-room; we have only to step from our apartment to see it.

Yesterday, in the morning, I was told that an auction of slaves was to be held. I went with Mr. Pulszky to the gallery, and saw a gentleman on a platform, who sold lots of houses by auction. On a bench around the stand, sat six negro women, one man, and a boy. The crowd pressed towards them, and examined their countenances. The slaves looked very sullen. The auction began, a woman was announced: "Excellente cuisinière, parfaite blanchisseuse et repasseuse; elle est garantie contre tous les vices et maladies prévues par la loi; elle a trente cinq ans"—Gentlemen, an excellent cook, accomplished laundress and iron-

er; guaranteed against all the vices and diseases mentioned in law—thirty-five years old. The offers began; she was knocked down for seven hundred dollars. A woman was now bid out with her child in her arms. The auctioneer described her, and concluded with saying: "Mother and child, gentlemen! both together." They were bought. Then came the turn of a lad, who seemed to be lame; he was obliged to show his leg, to satisfy the bidders that it was only accidentally sore.

I could not stand it longer.

March 29th.—Yesterday morning, we were awoke at four o'clock in the morning by Colonel L., who was appointed by the city as Aide-de-camp of Kossuth, to attend him during our stay. We had heard that the market here is one of the most interesting sights. It is always held before sunrise, to avoid the great heat of the day. We hastened down Charles Street, and went into the large but unsymmetrical market-halls on the banks of the river. They were filled with sellers and buyers. Meat, fish, vegetables and fruits were spread on the long tables—peas, and carrots, and tomatoes, and melons, strawberries, pine-apples and bananas. Huge plated coffee-kettles, eggs, butter, bread, and mutton-chops invited the early-riser to breakfast. The majority of the sellers and buyers were colored people; but I sought in vain the far-famed beautiful quadroons; they all looked very plain. Always the same broad lips, the prominent eye, the flat forehead. It was only the lighter colors of their skin, and their more glossy hair, which distinguished them from the full negroes.

In the afternoon, we went with Colonel Gilpin to the church-yard in the suburbs. These form also one of the remarkable features of this city; as the ground is so marshy that it is impossible to dig a grave, the tombs are all above-ground. They call them here "ovens," as most of them have an oven-like form. Many are faced with

marble, but not one is a monument of art. No attempt is made to emulate the Campo Santo of Pisa, or the churchyards of Munich, Frankfort, or Berlin. Avenues of live-oaks, cedars, magnolias, cypresses, and willows afford here shade; the walks are covered with shells, instead of sand; several tombs are ornamented with flowers. On our return we visited the gas-works. I never had seen any before. Colored people were employed there; the overseer, also a black man, explained to me with striking precision and clearness the process of the manufacture, which he superintended.

We took a ride round the city, but I do not like it. The marshes all around, with their dark cypresses, and the luxuriant swamp-oaks, with the gray Spanish moss, look dismal and melancholy:—it is as if death lurked everywhere.

This morning we rose again before dawn. Kossuth, Col. Gilpin—our jolly Aide de-damp—Mr. Pulszky, and myself rode to the well-known battle-ground of New Orleans. Whilst the gentlemen examined the strategic points, I enjoyed the morning breeze, sweetly mixed with the scent of roses and of the blooming china-trees. Col. Gilpin showed us the ditch on which the famous breast-work of cotton-bales was erected over night, by the order of General Jackson, and from behind which the never-erring rifles of the Americans poured destruction on the English troops. They despised the American army too much, and this underrating of the enemy was the principal cause of their defeat. I fear that, even now, the frequent intercourse with the United States has not yet conveyed over the ocean a true estimate of the Americans. The English underrate them, and do not seem to perceive that the United States have grown to a first-rate power, at least equal to Russia and France, though the Americans do not emulate those Governments in their expenses for the army;

because they know that their militia is sufficient enough, not only for defence, but even for any scheme of aggrandizement.

It is said, that whilst General Jackson was giving his orders for the battle, the owner of some of the bales, a rich planter of Irish descent, came up to the head-quarters, complaining that his cotton had been taken away, and requiring an immediate indemnity for his real and imaginary losses. Old Hickory interrupted his complaints, and asked: "Are these bales really your property?" "Yes," was the answer. "I am glad to hear it," said the general: "here is a rifle; go and defend them." The Irishman did not follow the advice; but as the tidings of the conclusion of peace arrived, some few days after the battle, he sent his cotton immediately to Liverpool, and made a very good profit, as it was the first cargo which reached England after the war. I asked, whether the English had not attempted, in 1812, to incite the colored population against the Americans. "We do not fear such an attempt," said the Colonel: "the slaves are not concentrated; they are diffused over wide tracts of land; foreign influence can never reach them; it would take too long time to work on them. And then they love their country,—and their country is America; they feel themselves Americans. We had armed two battalions of slaves, and they fought well. When the Constitution of Indiana closed the frontiers of the State to the free blacks, a colored barber in Washington complained of this provision, with the words—'Why should we be excluded from any part of our country? Should I love my country less than you, only because my ancestors came from Africa and yours from Europe?'"

On our return from the battle-field we passed the barracks, and were invited to step in. They are flanked by two defending towers, like a small fortress. I asked the

officer on duty for what purpose these fortifications were erected. He said, that they command the place, and *would immediately check any disturbance amongst the colored people.* The building is exceedingly well-kept, and seems most comfortable. A hospital is attached to it for one thousand people. It was wholly occupied during the Mexican war, but now we found only a few invalids there. The garden around is full of roses, but no trees afford shade. In the yard, a few China trees, covered with fragrant blossoms, presented a delightful view.

In the afternoon, I requested our aide-de-camp to take me to the slave-market. He told me that here no such thing existed; but he went with me to the slave-warehouses,—shops where, instead of wares, colored people are exposed for sale. One of the slave-dealers was an acquaintance of my companion, and we entered his establishment. I never felt so much ashamed in my life as when I talked to the slave-dealer; I hardly could find words to address the man. I said that we had no colored people in our country, and that I was interested in seeing them, though I had not the slightest intention to buy. The man was polite, and exhibited his merchandise courteously. The blacks passed in review before us: the men and boys in smart blue attire and clean shoes; the women and girls in gaudy calico dresses,—all tidily combed and curled. A tall girl of yellow-brown complexion mistook me probably for a buyer; she seemed to like my countenance, and did her best to please me. I told her that I was no Southerner; and I inquired what she could do. She answered: "A little of everything." Most of those whom I asked from whence they came, were Virginians or South Carolinians, raised for sale.

New Orleans has not the aspect of a Southern city. No balconies, few verandas, no flat roofs as in Italy, no public fountains, and the squares and gardens afford but little

shade. It is remarkable, that in so hot a climate people seem to care so little about taking refreshment. The ices, for example, are very bad and little called for. The gentlemen engaged in business, in speculation, and slave-dealing, evidently care little about the temperature; they chew, and drink, and smoke, and walk about the streets at noon as in the evening; but the ladies are rarely to be met with before the sun has set. In the theatre, they present a most lovely sight: almost all are dressed in white, with garlands and nosegays of fresh flowers. When Kossuth entered the box—the great majority very pretty—warmly joined in the demonstration. Colored people have separate seats in the upper gallery. Some of them were pointed out to me as very wealthy; but no money can admit them to the pit, or to the boxes.

IV. VISIT TO A PLANTATION.

April 1*st.*—I had expressd my wish to see a plantation. Mr. H., a rich merchant, obligingly invited us to his country seat on the Mississippi. Whilst people were thronging to the meeting, called together by the city authorities, where Kossuth was to speak, Madame Kossuth, Mr. Pulsky, and myself, proceeded to the boat with Mr. H. When on board, a planter accosted our host, telling him what an excellent job he had made. He had bought three girls from Virginia, field-hands, strong enough, said he, to split rails for fences; none of them twenty years old; they had cost him only eight hundred dollars apiece. They were called up; they looked passively content,—pleased, as it seemed, with their new and clean apparel. I understood that a slave was expected to make between five and six bales of cotton a year. I got into conversation with a young lady whose parents had a large plantation near Baton Rouge. I began to speak about slavery, and ex-

pressed my sorrow that the child can be sold from the mother, and the husband from the wife. "A good master never sells the husband from the wife," was the answer: "those who do it, are despised by public opinion. The law here does not allow the separation of the child from the mother, until it is ten years old; after that time they have to submit to it." I asked whether the feelings of the blacks were perhaps stunned, so that they were less aggrieved by the separation. "No," the young lady answered; "they are always very sad when such things occur."

Mr. H. possesses nine different plantations. The estate which we were going to visit he has lately bought from a Frenchman, and keeps there about 180 slaves; 20 are old, 50 children, 100 are working. It was stormy, and night had set in when the boat stopped; we went through the garden to the house. It is not large, built merely of wood. Its most attractive feature is an open gallery supported by columns, running all round the building. Mrs. H. received us here, seated on the veranda, where we spent the evening in conversation. The lightning flashed, thunder pealed, heavy rain fell, but the air was delightfully balmy. The fragrance of the china trees, and of the roses in the garden, was carried up to us by the breeze which had succeeded the storm, and the brightly illuminated steamers of the Mississippi, on the high level of the river, which flows here aloft between the embankments, passed before us like fairy abodes.

Mr. H. told us that twenty years ago he thought slavery wrong and sinful; he therefore freed his slaves, about twenty families; but until now they had not got on well, they toil in vain; they cannot compete with the whites. They have already offered Mr. H. to work for him again on the plantation, merely for food, lodging and clothing, but retaining their freedom. Our host did not accept the

proposal; he said, "Mixed labor won't do on the plantation; there must be equality amongst the laborers. Light-colored people, likewise, won't do among black; they are bad workers, and spoil the negroes." He has given up the idea of freeing all his slaves, but he tries to make them comfortable. "My slaves," said he, "are treated better than some, and worse than others."

"How so?" inquired I.

"I do not live amongst them; they are managed by overseers, and therefore cannot be treated as well as I would do, if I heard all their complaints and always saw after their wants."

The slaves on this plantation speak only French, and are Roman Catholics, as the late proprietor was a French Creole. It is remarkable how the habits of the masters act on the slaves. Those on the plantations who speak English and are Protestants, all work harder, and are less idle than the Frenchified negroes. On the whole, the Creoles proper treat their house-slaves better than the English, but the field hands have more to suffer from the outburst of the passions of their masters, which are stronger than their love of money.

For supper we had "Creole fowls, Creole eggs, Creole butter." Everything produced in Louisiana is Creole; thus styled to distinguish it from imported articles. Europeans sometimes call the mulattoes Creoles, but this is a mistake carefully to be avoided in Louisiana, where the aristocracy of color is so dominant that it prevails even over the worship of the dollar. During our meal we were attended by a colored footman, almost white, and by an elderly woman also very lightly tinged. She had been the nurse of Mrs. H., and her mistress had not only freed her, but had given her a farm. She seemed much attached to the family of her late master, and not willing to leave, she remained as housekeeper.

The negroes here have their own little gardens, they keep their poultry and sell it to their master. "This is the general custom," said Mrs. H. The planters think it mean to rear their own poultry, and not to leave the profits to the slaves, who are likewise allowed to sell the produce of their garden to the steamboats, or to the New Orleans market, but never without the written "*permit*" of the master, or of the overseer. Most of them spend their money on finery, a few husband it well and buy their liberty. Some of Mr. H.'s slaves keep fifty and more dollars in cash. We understood, likewise, that in the household of the New Orleans ladies, there is a slave for every occupation; one cooks, the other washes, the third sews, the fourth dresses her mistress, etc. Scrubbing, and all hand-work about the house, is done by the male slaves. The little colored girls are treated like dolls; the young ladies in the house amuse themselves by dressing and adorning them.

"Our children," continued Mrs. H., "are spoiled by our institution. It is very difficult to educate them, they never exert themselves in any way; they always depend on the slaves. A boy of twelve years hardly is able to wash his own neck. The tutor of my son wished him to be more independent, and told the slave who was the play-fellow of my boy, not to attend on him for every trifle; but then the slave refused even to bring him a glass of water from the cistern. If the slaves are treated very kindly, they soon get overbearing."

Yesterday morning we went first over the house, at the back of which is an orange grove, which last year yielded 300,000 oranges; this season they were frost-bitten. As the colored children have the free use of the fruit, no other fruit-trees than oranges are planted here, for fear the "Piccaninnies" should catch fever by eating unripe pears and peaches. We proceeded to the sugar-house, and on

our way we visited the cabins. They are very poor, but Mr. H. is erecting better ones; some of them are already put up, and when I expressed my opinion that he certainly was one of the good masters, as he seemed anxious for the comfort of his people, he answered that it was a good investment to have the slaves well lodged, as their health was then generally better. The cabins were now almost all empty; in some of them, however, we found women suckling their babies, in another there was an aged man, nearly a hundred years old, surrounded by chickens which he rears. We were told that he sometimes walks to the garden of the master, and there digs the ground. When Mr. H. said to him he should leave work to younger hands, he replied, "I must work, that when I am dead you may say, I have lost a good old nigger."

A larger building in the village is the kitchen. Here their food is cooked in great kettles for all the "hands," three quarters of a pound of pork a head, boiled with peas, sometimes with rice or other vegetables. Close to it is a slightly built oven, where the corn-bread is baked every day. At noon the meal is sent to the field, where an hour is allowed to the slaves for dinner, and one hour more for rest. The negroes prefer pork and bacon to all other food; of any other meat and fish they soon grow sick. Here they get as much corn-bread as they please. I tasted it, and found it similar to the "*Polenta*" of the Italians, and the "*Móbé*" of the Wallacks. A host of little black imps hovered around the kitchen, eating their hot corn-bread. They were very dirty, and appeared to delight as much in mud as any gipsy.

We took a ride in an open carriage to the sugar-fields, the gentlemen preceding us on horseback. A light-colored hunchback, with the classical name of Homer, who was overseer, and son of the housekeeper, went with them, armed with a whip, the symbol of Southern authority, as

the stick is in the Austrian and Russian army. In the fields the people were ploughing. It was a rich black alluvial soil, covered along the paths with white clover. The plough was very primitive; four mules dragged it, and by the manner in which work was performed, we saw that great economy of labor can yet be introduced here. A surveyor, now the manager of the estate, showed us how much land had been recovered by drainage in the last year. But much more is yet covered by a large swamp along the plantation, the home of alligators and rattlesnakes, studded with large oaks. The estate contains 1600 acres of cultivated land, and yields $20,000 a year. The rotation of crops is: winter cane, summer cane, and Indian corn.

On our return we visited the hospital, a cabin, like all the others, and found there only two invalids, under the care of a colored woman, who seemed to attend them well. She looked very good-natured. I asked her how they were treated here on the plantation.

"Bon maître," said she, "bonne maîtresse, bon jeune maître, bon mangé, bien traité."

"Ètes vous marriée?"

"Oui, mon mari est dans les champs."

"Est-ce-que vous l'aimez?"

"Oui beaucoup, lui beaucoup plus jeune que moi."

"Allez vous à l'église?"

"Rarement, je ne puis pas quitter mes malades. Mais les autres vont a l'église, il y en a une, à une heure d'ici."

We called on the housekeeper in her neat house, where she lives with her daughter and her son, who would have been better baptized Æsop than Homer. He spoke with considerable contempt of the niggers. "They are idle folks," said he.

I inquired if they were ever whipped for shunning labor. "No, Madam," replied he, "they are very well treated

here; but we cannot help flogging them sometimes, when they steal or fight. They would stab one another, if we did not interfere with the whip."

The housekeeper told me that she could read, but not write. Her children, however, had been fully instructed in the house of their master.

There is no school for slaves on this or on any other plantation in the United States.*

After luncheon we returned again to the city along the high embankment of the Mississippi.

By what I have seen on this trip, I am satisfied that Mr. H. is one of the best masters; and yet I saw that the conservative North American Review, which no Southerner ever has accused of Abolitionism, is right in saying:†

"There is the curse of slavery; it allows the slave to rise as near to manhood as it dares, because the more intelligent labor is, the more profitable. But beyond this, it systematically represses all mental or moral culture, which would tend to awaken the instinct of freedom. It is not that the slave is not well fed and clothed, and cared for, as an animal; but that the institution of slavery main-

* Dr. Cartwright, of New Orleans, expresses the views of the South in regard to slavery very concisely in the following way: "If treated kindly, well fed and clothed, with fuel enough to keep a small fire burning all night, separated into families, each family having its own house, *not* permitted to run about at night to visit their neighbors, to receive visits, or to use intoxicating liquors, and not overworked or exposed too much to the weather, they are easily governed; more so than any other people in the world. When all this is done, if any one or more of them, at any time, are inclined to raise their heads to a level with their master or overseer, humanity and their own good require that they should be punished, until they fall into that submissive state, which it was intended for them to occupy in all after-time, when their progenitor received the name of *Canaan*, or 'Submissive Kneebender.' They have only to be kept in that state, and treated like children, with care, kindness, attention and humanity, to prevent and cure them from running away."

† North American Review, No. CLIII. October, 1851. Page 352.

tains itself by preventing his rising above a condition halfway between the animal and the man. It is not that men in other conditions do not live in ignorance, and endure life-long deprivations; but that slavery is an institution which sustains itself only by systematically keeping on a degraded level those under its control, and must cease to exist, where any general and serious effort is made to raise the slave to a higher mental or moral level. And they who, for the sake of their personal comfort, ease, or gain, support, without attempting to change an institution like this, must expect to encounter the sober reprobation of the Christian world."

CHAPTER IV.

RETURN TO THE NORTH.

I. MOBILE.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary, April 3d.*)

KOSSUTH got a telegraphic dispatch from Boston, that the session of the State Legislature which had invited him to Boston, endorsing all his views in one of the most elaborate State papers which have appeared in the Hungarian cause, was likely to adjourn in about a fortnight. We had, therefore, to hasten our return to the North. On the 1st of April we took leave of our friends, especially of Colonel Gilpin. He is one of the best specimens of Western pioneers, who have their home in the East, to explore the wilderness, and extend the territory of their country on one side with the plough, on the other with the sword. Our friend had taken part in the war with Mexico, penetrating through the uninhabited prairies of the West to New Mexico, and to the heart of Chihuahua. Our jolly aide-de-camp, Militia-Colonel L., a good-natured German immigrant, abhorring the peculiar institution in theory, but in practice a great friend of all the slaveholders and slave-dealers, formed a striking contrast to him. Whenever one of the Hungarian officers addressed him as comrade, he immediately offered him a Havana cigar; but when they now took leave of him and said: "We hope to see you again, at the side of Governor Kossuth, as soon as the struggle begins"—"Dear me," replied he, "I belong to

the militia, my Colonelship is expensive enough. I have to treat my whole staff, but I won't go to war; I am too nervous for that, I am a business man."

On the railway we steamed along the swampy ground, adorned by rich oaks, cypresses, lilac, water lilies, cactuses and cane, with luxuriant yellow flowers. In fifteen minutes we reached Lake Pontchartrain and embarked on the steamboat. It carried us to the Gulf, and on the smooth waters we soon passed Pascagoula, a small sea-port of the State of Mississippi. It is said, that on the mouth of the Pascagoula river strange melodious sounds float on the waters; they seem to ooze up through the waves from grottoes in the bed of the river. According to Indian tradition, a native tribe has been driven here into the sea by their relentless enemies, the Natchez, and it is the war-whoop of the buried warriors which rises from the depths. On the boat we found a specimen of the semi-civilized red man; a haughty, taciturn Choctaw, clad in his black and red ragged garment, with the blanket thrown over his shoulders, but his head was covered with the black cylinder of European fashion. When we reached Mobile, he proudly stepped ashore, whilst his squaw had to toil under the weight of a voluminous bundle, probably containing all their wealth. There are now only few Indians in the Southern States; the great tribes have gone across the Mississippi. Those who remain, sell in winter their bead-works in the cities, in spring they return to the woods and live by the chase. With a hunter-nation women never are respected; the dog faithfully assisting his master in his occupation has precedency of the squaw at the meal, and at the fireside.

It was nine o'clock in the morning when we reached Mobile, in the State of Alabama. We looked in vain for rooms in the hotels. A great fire had lately destroyed the largest establishment of this kind; the smaller ones were

crowded to excess. Not intending to tarry at this city, we inquired for a boat, to proceed up the Alabama river, and were informed that the "Farmer" was to start in a couple of hours. We immediately transferred our luggage to it; but it was a rickety old hulk, not at all inviting; it did not even appear safe, yet we had no choice. Kossuth felt unwell, and soon fell asleep. I sat down to write, whilst some of the members of our party took a stroll over the town. But scarcely had the tidings spread of the arrival of the Hungarian patriot, when people thronged to the boat, and requested us to stay in the city, and to accept their hospitality. A Committee of the most prominent citizens was soon formed, and they carried off Kossuth amidst the cheers of the white and of the colored people assembled on the wharf. Meanwhile, several ladies came to Madame Kossuth and me, inviting us to their houses. We gladly accepted the cordial offer, and proceeded to the abode of Mrs. Le Vert, the great friend of old Henry Clay. She is the daughter of the late Governor of Florida, highly accomplished; while she speaks the French and Spanish as well as English; she understands, also, several other languages. But she not only possesses the keys to the treasures of foreign literature, she has likewise made use of them, and her conversation is as interesting as it is lively. She is no blue-stocking: elegance pervades not only her expressions, but her whole appearance. We dined at the table of Mrs. Phillips, the wife of an eminent lawyer, and member of the Alabama Legislature. She is one of those few ladies who unite the Anglo-Saxon turn of mind with Southern ease. With seven children she looks quite youthful. In the very first moment of our acquaintance she began to speak about slavery. I have repeatedly noticed in the South, that people seek this topic with foreigners. Their institution is so thoroughly interwoven with their life and habits that they are fully aware that it forms a

part of their existence. and as they feel how much horror slavery inspires in Europeans, they wish at once to explain their position. It is rare to meet a person defending the institution, but they invariably appeal to the great difficulty of getting on without it. The ladies, especially, cling to the fact, that they cannot do without slaves, and that public opinion shields the dependent from ill-treatment. One of the gentlemen who accompanied us on a drive in the afternoon, told me, that a French Creole lady in New Orleans tortured her slaves. For a long time this remained unknown, until one day her house caught fire, and the people rushing to the rescue, found in the upper story a slave tied by ropes and cruelly lacerated. At this sight the multitude became infuriated, and instead of quenching the flames, they demolished the dwelling, and sought the lady to "lynch" her. She had a narrow escape, and could not remain longer in the country; she was forced to betake herself to France. Mr. B. told me that he had long lived among the Creole planters, they were men of generous hospitality, amiable and most pleasant companions, but the slaves on their plantations were often ill-treated, especially by the planters' children, who are accustomed from infancy to give free vent to all their passions, and to complain incessantly against the blacks, often accusing them falsely in order to have them whipped, if they did not submissively comply with all their wishes. The gentleman who told me this was not opposed to the "peculiar institution," though he admitted that its wrong side could not be altogether denied.

The houses in Mobile have a more Southern appearance than those in New Orleans. Almost all are surrounded by verandas and gardens filled with roses, orange and lemon trees, and magnificent magnolias. The neighborhood of the town on the seashore is delightful; the air full of fragrance. The inhabitants say that the scent of their

flowers is often carried to the Gulf at a distance of five miles.

This morning an enthusiastic meeting in honor of Kossuth was held in the circus, the largest hall in the place, which was used, with democratic equality, for preaching and for concerts, for lectures and for rope-dancing. To-day the élite of Mobile society assembled there. The late governors of the State, a judge of the Superior State Court, several members of the Legislature, and a celebrated clergyman were on the platform. After Kossuth's speech the meeting was closed by an eloquent prayer. It is one of the peculiarities of American society, that the places of worship are often thrown open for lectures and profane music, and that concert-rooms and lecture-halls are occasionally used for worship.

A French gentleman, already for several years an inhabitant of the South, was a great advocate of Louis Napoleon. He had satisfied himself, of course, that republican and democratic institutions are the roots of demoralization in Europe and in America, and expected the reformation of the world from Bonaparte. To me it was striking, to hear from an Absolutist the same ideas which one of the late St. Simonians whom we met here in the South had developed to us. He is firmly convinced, though he despises the usurper, that the consequence of the Empire in France will be the overthrow and remodelling of the present state of society in England. A French Jesuit in the West had likewise explained to one of our refugees, that Louis Bonaparte, as the champion of Roman Catholicism, will destroy *the liberty of Evil* in France, viz., the free press, the trial by jury, secular education and the national guard. He affirmed that Napoleon will be pushed by the power of circumstances to attack England, and to unmake the Reformation. "The next struggle," said he, "will be no mere political, it will be the war of Roman

Catholicism against the heretics of St. Peter against Simon Magus." It is surprising how these ideas are circulated all over the world, as if to foreshadow the yet hidden designs of the reckless usurper.

II. THE ALABAMA RIVER AND MONTGOMERY.

April 6th.—Amongst the shouts of the citizens of Mobile, we left on the 3d the hospitable city, which had greeted us with the warmest sympathy, the more unexpected to us, as one of the Senators of Alabama, Colonel Clemens, had made himself prominent in Washington City by his vehement invectives against Kossuth, though aware that his arguments had no more than six supporters in the Senate. We thought, therefore, that he had expressed the sentiments of his State, until the demonstration of the most important city in Alabama agreeably undeceived us.

We have scarcely yet made a more picturesque tour in the United States than the trip from Mobile to Montgomery, up the Alabama River. Here for the first time we felt ourselves amidst primitive nature, almost without any trace of culture. The river winds through a dense forest, unscathed by the fires of the Indians and by the axe of the settler. The pine, the black oak, and the cypress tower darkly over the lighter colored sycamores, poplars, elms and willows. Here and there we see a splendid magnolia or a magnificent live oak, adorned by festoons of Spanish moss. A venomous species of ivy, which causes inflammation if touched, curls up the trees; the white blossoms of the dogwood and the purple of the red-bud blend their color harmoniously with the glossy green of the laurel, which forms here the thick underwood. Patches of high-grown cane cover the little islands, and the Southern hue of the sky completes the delightful landscape. On long tracts no human abode meets the eye, distant smoke alone

shows the presence of man; everything around is silent; on a falling withering tree rests a lazy tortoise; the kingfisher divides the air with bold strokes; dark butter-ducks, disturbed by the paddling of the steamer, flutter up in advance of the boat; while gulls bathe their breasts in the waves; swift pigeons flit over the woods; a host of cranes steer towards the north, and high in the air sails a lonely turkey-buzzard. The reddish clay of the soil is little fit for sugar or cotton, and no other crop repays slave-labor, the land is therefore left to its primitive freedom. Let the "Homestead Bill" pass, and the Alabama will bend its course through cornfields, and will team with steamers, whilst now we have met but one single boat in three days.

Yesterday afternoon we again saw plantations. The banks rose perpendiculary to about a hundred feet; the paths to the plantations were ladders: pulleys were used to let the cotton-bales down to the boats and to haul the cargo up. Numerous blacks and a few white men here gazed idly down on the river; it was Sunday, the day of rest. An old free negro, poorly clad, came down from one of the plantations and went along with us about twenty miles. When he reached the place to which he was going, he asked the purser for the price of his fare. He got the reply: "We do not charge such poor people as you." Our fellow-travellers were planters. All with whom we conversed, complained that Europeans did not understand the character of the "peculiar institution." "Were all the negroes free," said one of them, "they could not rise in their social position. In the presence of their former masters, impressed with the associations of their servitude, they always would only do menial work, they never would presume to consider themselves as equals to the white. There is a tendency amongst them to grow white in their

posterity. A mulatto girl feels honored by marrying a lighter colored man; an alliance with a darker hue seems dishonorable to her. Therefore you will notice that the full blacks have become fewer in the course of time; in the cities you scarcely meet with any. One century has already made the great bulk of them lighter; in another century many of them will be assimilated to the whites."

Another gentleman remarked: "Had a large number of blacks in the last one hundred and fifty years been thrown on to the coasts of England, such as have been imported against our will into America, it is a great question whether, amidst the competition of a more energetic race, their number would not have dwindled down to insignificance. Surely they would be wretched paupers, inferior to our slaves, who are physically strong and morally better than any African tribe that has not passed through the school of slavery. Slavery has improved the race," he added.

A lady told me that her parents had come to the United States from Scotland when she was a little child; she had married a Southerner. After six of her daughters had married she and her husband took their seventh daughter to Europe, as the lady wished to visit her native country. "We went to Scotland," said she, "but everything was strange to me; I found all my relations dead, and people very ignorant about America. Once we met an Irish gentleman who had a son, a boy about twelve years old, who asked my daughter whether she was an American? He could not believe it, as she was fair, and he thought that all the Americans were black. My daughter told him that we had black servants in the houses and in the fields. 'What do you give them to eat?' asked the young Irishman. 'Why,' said she, 'what we eat ourselves, meat and vegetables every day.' The father of the boy seemed

much astonished to hear it, and assured me that the poor people in Ireland who work in the fields taste meat but few times a year."

A gentleman of South Carolina asked me whether we had large farms in Hungary, and as he heard that estates of a thousand and even of ten thousand acres were not rare, he asked whether we had colored people to work them. He thought it remarkable that large tracts of land can be tilled for wages without compulsion. "In America," he said, "the great estates would all be broken up, had we no slaves. Were the blacks free, they would squat in the woods, they would easily earn enough to maintain their life, and no money could induce them to work for the planter. They have no higher wants, and therefore it is their greatest enjoyment to be idle. Moreover, white labor does not do for sugar or rice, and even for cotton in our hot climate, which only negroes can endure."

The evening was lovely; a gentle breeze slightly rippled the surface of the waters, and the shrill and wild strains of the negroes on board broke with peculiar charm the silence of the night. As often as we left the shore the blacks repeated a monotonous song which sounded like the wailing of a sad farewell.

When we came nearer to Montgomery the high cliffs on the banks disappeared. The river runs here through an undulating country; houses were scattered along the banks; a crowd was assembled along the landing-place, guns were fired, gentlemen displayed their horsemanship, carriages and committees awaited us, to take us to the city, but the shouting and cheering and the reports of the cannons frightened the horses, and I was glad when we were safely lodged in the Exchange Hotel.

April 7th.—The charms of Southern nature adorn Montgomery, but the capitol of Alabama (which is thought to be the great feature of the city, with its high cupola covered

with shining tin plate, with its Greek portico and two balconies behind the columns) looks more grotesque than fine. We made the acquaintance of an Americanized German, who took us to see all the attractions of the place. "What a nice house!" said I, observing a handsome cottage surrounded by a very elegantly cultivated garden. "It belongs to a gentleman who became bankrupt last fall; when he saw that his affairs were turning for the worse, he transferred his property to his wife."

"But that is dishonorable," objected I. "Why," said our companion, "it ceases to be so where it is a daily occurrence, and where the capitalists are prepared for it, and therefore do not lend their money under twenty per cent. I could show you several houses here which belong to the wives of ruined men. A bankrupt, if industrious, does not even lose his credit here; he can redeem it easily, for after his failure he is reckoned to be more experienced and more practical than before."

The German gentleman described to us the way in which people live and manage here. "Nobody," said he, "can do in these parts without slaves, though the occasional losses through them are sometimes very heavy. Last year, for instance, I bought a powerful fellow, and two weeks after he died. I rented him out to the road contractors, he got the ague in the swamps, and had I not insured his life before to the amount of one thousand dollars I should have lost my capital."

At the hotel, we met an amiable lady, the wife of a planter. In summer she resides in the North, in winter in Montgomery. She told me that her slaves on the plantation get up balls and dancing parties, and on such occasions use her plate, china and glass. "Our house-slaves," continued she, "are yet more under our immediate care. I often dress my maid when she goes to the ball; and when she was married, I adorned her with all my jewels.

But the house-slaves likewise feel themselves the aristocrats among the colored people; they look down upon the field hands; they think them very vulgar and uncouth, and do not deign to greet them in the streets."

III. GEORGIA AND THE CAROLINAS.

The political strife between the South and the North, which already three times in this century has threatened to bring the Free and the Slaveholding States into conflict, has been again settled by a compromise. The Secessionists in the South are no longer a political party, except in South Carolina, which was the original source of this political creed, and with the disappearing storm the leadership of the South has again passed over to Georgia. It is the foremost of all planter States, and the Georgians have every reason to be proud of the resources and of the energies of their commonwealth. Mr. Stevens, one of the representatives of Georgia, thus described her in Congress in 1850:

"Georgia was the youngest of the old Thirteen States that formed the Union. At that time she was the weakest of the fraternal band. Twelve years have not yet passed since the last remnants of the aborigines were removed from her limits, and since she has had complete jurisdiction over her entire domain. Of course, the comparison would be, with great odds, against her if matched against Massachusetts, New York, or Virginia, which were wealthy and powerful communities before the infant colony of Georgia was planted in the wilderness. Boston, New York, and Richmond, were nearly as old as Georgia now is when Oglethorpe first landed at Savannah. But, notwithstanding all this, I will not shrink from the comparison, let it be instituted when and where it may.

"Georgia, too, has her beds of coal and iron; her lime,

gypsum, and marl, her quarries of granite and marble. She has inexhaustible treasures of minerals, including gold, the most precious of metals. She has a soil and a climate suitable for the growth and culture of almost every product known to husbandry and agriculture. A better country for wheat and corn, and all the cereal plants, to say nothing of cotton and tobacco, is not to be found in an equal space on this continent. There, too, grow the orange, the olive, the vine, and the fig, with forests of oak and pine sufficient to build and mast the navies of the world. She has mountains for grazing, rivers for commerce, and waterfalls for machinery, of all kinds, without number. Nor have those great natural advantages and resources been neglected. Young as she is, she is now the first cotton-growing State in the Union. Her last year's crop will not fall short of six hundred thousand bales, if it does not exceed it. She has, I believe, thirty-six cotton factories in operation, and a great many more hastening to completion. One of them has, or soon will have, ten thousand spindles, with two hundred looms, capable of turning out eight thousand yards of cloth per day. Her yarns are already finding their way to the markets of the North, and foreign countries, and the day is not distant, when she will take the lead in the manufacture, as well as the production of this great staple. She has also her flour mills and paper mills—her forges, foundries, and furnaces. Her exports last year were not less than thirty millions of dollars—equal to, if not greater, than those of all New England together. She has six hundred and fifty miles of railroad in operation, at a cost of fifteen millions of dollars, and two hundred more in the process of construction. By her energy and enterprise, she has scaled the mountain barriers and opened the way for the steam-car from the Southern Atlantic ports to the waters of the great Valley of the West. But this is not all. She has four chartered universities—

nay, five, for she has one devoted exclusively to the education of her daughters. She was the first State, I believe, to establish a female college, which is now in a flourishing condition, and one of the brightest ornaments of her character. She has four hundred young men pursuing a collegiate course; a greater number, I believe, than any State in the Union, in proportion to her white population. Go, then, and take your statistics, if you wish, you will find not only all these things to be so; but I tell you, also, what you will not find. You will not find anybody in that State begging bread or asking alms."

But this bright picture has also its reverse. In a population of 527,000 freemen, there are 41,000 white adults in Georgia who cannot read, and the number of children whose parents are not able to send them to school, is upwards of thirty-eight thousand. "In all the cotton-growing States there is a numerous white population scattered over the pine-barrens, and subsisting on hunting and raising stock. From this dispersed condition they cannot have either schools or churches, and their children must grow up without religion, and ignorant of even the alphabet." It is not from an abolitionist pamphlet that I quote this fact, but from Professor De Bow's *proslavery* work on the industrial resources of the Western and Southern States. And this too is a result of slavery. It has made instruction the monopoly of the planters of the scanty white population of the cities; the rural population is here as little instructed as in England.

But the Georgians are fully aware of the claims of the spirit of the age, and the Southern Central Agricultural Society of Georgia has issued an address proposing to hold an Agricultural Congress of the slaveholding States, for the following purposes:

"To adopt measures to improve the present system of agriculture; to develop the resources and combine the

energies of the slaveholding States, so as to increase their wealth, power and dignity as members of the Confederacy; to fortify public opinion within the borders of the slaveholding States, in antagonism to that without; to enforce the growing sentiment that the children of the South shall be reared and educated at home, instead of abroad; to foster scientific pursuits, promote the mechanic arts, and aid in establishing a system of common schools; to assist in bringing the South in direct commercial intercourse with distant countries, and to cultivate the aptitudes of the negro race for civilization, and consequently Christianity; so that *by the time slavery shall have fulfilled its beneficent mission in these States*, a system may be authorized by the social condition of that race here, to relieve it from its present servitude, without sinking it to the condition of the free negroes of the North and West Indies."

Every friend of freedom must hail such movements with the most sincere approbation. If the South itself begins to educate the slaves for freedom, if they take any sincere steps, however slow or short, for the gradual affranchisement of the slaves, it will prove a far more efficient mean for allaying the antagonism between the North and the South, than all the Compromises which have been hitherto devised by the politicians. But this antagonism has raised in the South a spirit which we can trace even in the address of the association which has taken such an honorable course. I mean the isolation of the slaveholding States from the North. The planters wish to establish a separate nationality of their own, and to become independent of the literary institutions of New York and New England, where their children are brought into contact with views not agreeing with Southern notions. This spirit has been especially fostered by the South Carolinians. They have been defeated in their scheme of political secession, they continue the strife in another form by

endeavoring to sever the feeling of the moral unity of the North Americans; they wish to teach the youth of the South to look upon those who do not belong to planter States as upon foreigners. This spirit would be dangerous could it ever pervade all the slave States, but in these days of steamboats, railways and telegraphs, every attempt to isolate a country, and to break up its intellectual connection with its neighbors, will always prove a failure.

South Carolina has taken a different line. This State has not the ambition of Georgia to develop its industrial resources. It is pre-eminently the planting State, not tainted in any way by Northern ideas. The legislation, in respect to the slaves, is as rigorous, nay, more rigorous, than it was in the last century. Some extracts from these laws are too sad evidences how the negroes are treated, or at least, how they *legally can be treated.* The fundamental law respecting the blacks is the act of 1740, and we cannot be surprised that it is Draconic. Some sections of it have been repealed, but we find many provisions still unrepealed which give an absolute power to the master, overseer, or any white person over any slave. We quote from the Essay of the Hon. T. B. O'Neal of South Carolina, which, according to Professor T. D. B. D. Bow, gives a fair idea of the slave system. "If a slave be out of the house or plantation where such slave resides, or without some white person in company, and should refuse to submit to, and undergo the examination of any white person, it is lawful to such white person to pursue, apprehend, and moderately correct such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be lawfully killed. Masters, overseers or other persons, have the power to apprehend and take up any slave out of his master's plantation at any time, not being on lawful business, or not with a ticket from the master, or not having some white person in company; and even with a ticket, if

armed with wooden swords or other mischievous and dangerous weapons, and to disarm such slave, and all such mentioned in the section, 'to whip.' A slave who shall be guilty of homicide of any sort upon any white person, except it be by misadventure, or in defence of his *master*, shall upon conviction suffer death. The same penalty is to be inflicted on any slave who shall grievously wound, maim or bruise any white person." The same act provides, "That any slave, free negro, mulatto, Indian or Mestizzo, who shall wilfully or maliciously burn or destroy any stack of rice, corn, or other grain, or shall feloniously steal, take or carry away any slave, being the property of another, with intent to carry such slave out of the State; or shall wilfully and maliciously poison, or administer poison to any person, freeman, woman, servant or slave, shall suffer death."

"A free negro, mulatto or mestizzo, cannot lawfully strike any white person, even if he be first stricken, and therefore if he commits homicide of a white person, generally he cannot be guilty of manslaughter; he is either guilty of murder or altogether excused. A slave cannot legally contract marriage. The marriage of such a one is morally good, but in point of law the union of slave and slave, or slave and free negro, is concubinage merely. Slaves cannot be witnesses. Free negroes, mulattoes and mestizzoes cannot be jurors, they cannot be witnesses in any courts, with the single exception of a magistrate's and freeholder's court, trying slaves or free negroes, mulattoes or mestizzoes for criminal offences, and then without oath. Slaves, or free persons of color, are to be tried for all offences by a magistrate and five freeholders. The freeholders are to be obtained by the magistrate who issues the warrant summoning eight slaveholding freeholders, out of whom the prisoner, if he be free, or the owner or overseer, if a slave, may select five to sit upon the trial."

Before the act of 1800, anything which showed that the owner had deliberately parted with his property, and dissolved the *vinculum servilis*, was enough to establish freedom. By the act of 1800, it was provided, "That emancipation could only take effect by deed, before a Justice and five freeholders of the vicinage, who had to examine whether the slave was not of bad character, and was able to gain a livelihood." The act of 1820 declaring, "That no slave should hereafter be emancipated but by an act of the legislature," introduced a new provision in the law of South Carolina. By the act of 1834, slaves are prohibited to be taught to read or write under a penalty, if a white person offend, not exceeding $100 fine and six months' imprisonment; if a free person of color, not exceeding fifty lashes and a fine of $50. The same act prohibits the employment of a slave or free person of color as a clerk or salesman, under a penalty not exceeding $100 fine, and imprisonment for six months.

In 1848, the Legislature declared, "that any bequest, deed of trust or conveyance, intended to take effect after the death of the owner, whereby the removal of any slave without the State is secured, or intended with a view to the emancipation of such slave, shall be void; and that every devise or bequest to a slave or slaves, or to any person, upon a trust or confidence, secret or expressed, for the benefit of any slave or slaves, shall be void."

As to the protection of the slave, by the act of 1821, the murder of a slave is declared "to be a felony without the benefit of clergy;" and by the same act "to kill any slave on sudden heat and passion, subjects the offender, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding $500, and imprisonment not exceeding six months."

The act of 1841 makes "the unlawful whipping or beating of any slave, without sufficient provocation by word or act, a misdemeanor, and subjects the offender, on con-

viction, to imprisonment not exceeding six months, and a fine not exceeding $500."

The act of 1740 requires the owners of slaves to provide them with sufficient clothing, covering and food; and if they should fail to do so, the magistrate is authorized to hear and determine the complaint, and make such order as will give relief, and may set a fine not exceeding $30 and 66 cents on the owner.

The Hon. T. B. O'Neal, a Judge, who wishes South Carolina to be protected "from those prowling harpies who preach freedom and steal slaves from their *happy* homes," remarks on this provision, that "it is a very wise and humane one, except that the penalty is entirely too slight." "I regret to say," he continues, "that there is, in such a State as ours, *great occasion for the enforcement of such a law.*" Such an avowal, of a man thoroughly convinced of the benefit of slavery, is more weighty than any witness from the North or from Europe. But the same Hon. Judge is fully aware that such laws as cited above do not agree with the present age; he expresses his wish that the Black Code of South Carolina should be revised. He thinks that laws prohibiting the slaves to be taught to read and write look rather cowardly, and give the impression as if the South Carolinian masters were afraid of their own slaves. He feels that the act of 1754, which punished with death any person who should inveigle, steal and carry away any slave, or to aid any slave in running away, is too sanguinary, and that this matter should be taken up, and the law changed. He condemns the acts of 1820 and '41, which make emancipation nearly impossible; and he says also: "It might be proper that this matter (the providing of the slaves with sufficient clothes, covering, and food) should be given in charge to the Grand Jury for each and every term, and they be solemnly enjoined to inquire of all violations of duty on the part of masters, owners, and

employers of slaves, in furnishing them with sufficient clothing, covering and food; and the law might also direct that every one by them reported should be ordered to be instantly indicted." Another reform, suggested by the same Judge, is yet more important: he recommends that the slaves should be annexed to the freeholds of their owners, in order to prevent the continual change of master and slave, and the rending of family ties among them. He thinks, also, that some provision should be made that, in cases of insolvency of the owner, the slaves should always be *sold in families.*

Slow as the progress of the South has been in respect to slave-legislation, still we see that even in South Carolina the tide begins to set in in a different direction; that reforms begin to be considered, and that the gradual education of the blacks to freedom, by the planters themselves, is not to be despaired of.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.*)

April 10th.—On the 7th we left Montgomery, and travelled on rail to West Point, on the border of the State of Alabama; from whence we had to proceed by stage. The road was in the most primitive state; but as we had dry weather, we rattled over hill and dale, through fields and woods. In the evening we reached Lagrange, in Georgia, where the colleges for young ladies are established; fine buildings, surrounded by large gardens. About a hundred of the fair students came to the hotel to greet Kossuth; and when, early in the morning of the 8th, we passed close to one of those schools, the pupils poured a shower of roses, hyacinths, tulips, and honeysuckles into our carriage.

Instead of the unpicturesque rail-fences of the North and West, we saw here loose stone walls enclosing the fields, and on one point a most beautiful hedge of Chero-

kee brier in full blossom. About five in the afternoon we arrived at the place where the railway again begins. We saw the embankment carried far through the woods, and were told that in one year the connection with West Point will be completed. We did not stop at any place in Georgia, but proceeded straight to Charleston, South Carolina. On our way I noticed, listening to the conversation in the cars, that the condition of the free colored people in the North is as much decried in the South as the treatment of Southern slaves in the North. A gentleman said, that if a colored man in Boston chances to occupy a room in a house, any white lodger has the right to expel him, whatever the colored person may offer to pay! The two great portions of the United States rail at one another very unscrupulously, more than any foreigners would do; and yet, they are very touchy if any remark is made which does not imply admiration; certainly as to opinions they do not seem to love freedom. In the cars we were not so fortunate as to meet with any specimen of Southern chivalry. At Atalanta, Madame Kossuth and several of our party stepped out to get a cup of tea; I remained, and when I saw that the car began to be crowded, I put my shawl on her seat; but a gentleman showed but little respect for this token of occupation: he threw down my shawl and took possession of the chair. I observed that it belonged to a lady who was to return immediately. But the chivalrous Southerner replied, that all seats are equal, and belong to any one who can get them.

The plantations in South Carolina, along the railway, seemed much poorer than in any other part of the South we had visited, and the cabins of the slaves looked little better than kennels.

April 13th.—At Charleston, the Mayor of the city, and a number of other citizens, called on Kossuth and requested him to stay there some time, but we hastened on and

proceeded by the steamer on sea to Wilmington, in North Carolina, where we spent Easter Sunday. It was rainy, and we saw little of the place. On Monday we came to Petersburg, Virginia. To our astonishment, the train to Richmond had gone off a few minutes before our train arrived, and we were told that this was no unusual occurrence, as the managers of the railways did not care about the connection; it struck me peculiarly, as it was the mail train with which we had arrived, and all the letters north of Petersburg were thus delayed for twelve hours. This morning we proceeded by the picturesque Richmond to Fredericksburg, and to the Potomac, from whence a boat took us to Washington.

For a foreigner, one of the most striking features of the South is the scarcity and insignificance of the cities. With the exception of New Orleans, there is no city in all the planting States equal to a second-rate city in the State of New York or Massachusetts. People live on their plantations. The manufacturing and commercial interest is, on the whole, here scarcely of importance, though a considerable portion of the white population—those who are not planters—live very poorly in the districts not suited to the culture of cotton and rice. They furnish the hands to the mills in Georgia. Slave-labor is not introduced into the cotton factories; probably because free labor is even here less expensive than slave-labor. But the whites refuse the work in the fields, because they deem it derogatory to do the same work as slaves do. The free colored people do not seem to consider slavery so degrading, they think it only a misfortune. I was told, that in Georgia there lives a free mulatto woman on a plantation of her own, which she works by slaves. One of them found favor in her eyes, and she married him. Of course, she was expected to give him his freedom, but she says: "I will keep my nigger," and her husband remains her slave.

IV. VISIT TO MOUNT VERNON.

It was a lovely day when we set out from Washington City to visit Mount Vernon, where the Father of the Republic lived and died. The steamboat on which we went down the Potomac was filled with visitors from Washington City, from New York, from New England, and many other parts of the Union. Governor Seward and his amiable wife had come with us. Among the party, likewise, were Elwood Fisher, the editor of the Southern Press, a representative of the extreme South Carolinian views; Grace Greenwood, the gifted author, Rev. Mr. Bellows, the eloquent Unitarian preacher from New York, and our excellent Mr. Coggshall, the correspondent of the New York Tribune, who had accompanied us to the West and the South. The banks of the river, which is here as broad as the Ohio, offer a pleasant and varied panorama; gentle slopes, wooded hills and cultivated valleys; spring was adorning them with its charms. A young Virginian lady, who never had left her native country, asked me whether I had ever beheld a more beautiful scenery, and whether the Bosphorus could compare with the Potomac? She would not believe that even the Rhine and the Danube are far more picturesque. Many Americans think it unpatriotic to imagine that there is any spot on the globe which is not surpassed by some parts of the United States, or that anything, anywhere, can be finer or better than what exists in America. It is, therefore, quite natural that General Washington is for them the first-born of mankind, the greatest of all the heroes in history;—less brilliant in his career, than most of those on whom fame has bestowed the surname of Great, but never swerving from the path of patriotic duty, of unselfish devotion to freedom, of warm benevolence to mankind. Enduring in adversity, he made

use of his success only for the benefit of his country. He had learned to control his passions, and still he retained all the warmth of a youthful heart; his stern and inflexible character was softened by the mildness of his manners. His principal feature was his deep respect for the law, and his faith in the divine spark of human nature. Others originated the great American Revolution, which has opened a new era in the history of mankind; he was the only man whose comprehensive views and moral depth could achieve the triumph of liberty and of republican principles on a lasting basis,—that of self-government without class-privileges, without bureaucracy, without a standing army, without an established church. The battles which he lost and won are insignificant if compared with those of the great captains of Europe and Asia; the measures which he proposed as a statesman presented no features of novelty; there is nothing astonishing, either in his campaigns or in his administration, and yet no man has left more beneficent results of his public life, than Washington. His providential career was not the autumnal thunder-storm which clears the sky and refreshes the sultry atmosphere; it was not the summer sun which spreads dazzling light and scorching heat; it was the gentle rain of spring which arouses the genial powers of the fertile soil. It was not in the tempest, but in the soft breeze that the voice of God was revealed to the Americans.

I was anxious to see how the memory of the man, justly prized as the Father of the nation, is honored by his people. I know that Mount Vernon is the sacred spot of America, to which every freeman makes a pilgrimage, to invigorate his love of liberty, and to get a new impulse of patriotism; and I expected to see the tomb of Washington as that of the Prophet at Mecca.

Mount Vernon, the property of the Washingtons, is a

fine estate. The part which faces the river forms a park on a steep hill, on whose summit the spacious house is situated. From the Potomac it presents a picturesque view. A solemn mood prevailed amongst the company as we approached; silently we stepped ashore and proceeded towards the grave of Washington. The park is entirely neglected; grass grows on the paths; the wooden steps on the steep ascents are rotten, and thorns and nettles spread in every direction. On the west side of the hill, we come to the family cemetery, filled with a dozen simple monuments, inscribed with the names of the members of the family. A small vault is raised near them, closed by an iron railing; it is the entrance to the crypt where the coffin of the great man is deposited. The vault has no architectural ornament, and no care is bestowed to keep it even in decent order. The mortar has fallen down from several parts of the whitewashed ceiling; spiders quietly spread their webs in every corner, and dust covers the floor. Two heavy stone sarcophaguses, in a rude style, are placed in the vault, and an inscription on them records, that by permission of the executor of the estate, the sarcophagus has been placed here in 1837, in memory of General George Washington, by a stone-mason of Philadelphia, who has not forgotten to engrave his direction on the rough monument as a profitable advertisement. My feelings were shocked at this desecration of the memory of the great dead. At a few yards from the vault, a colored girl sold sticks cut from the tree under which the General had been originally buried, and from whence his coffin has been removed to the crypt. I did not ask whether she was free, but I knew that though the General had manumitted all his slaves by his will, his heirs had peopled Mount Vernon again with slaves, who now remind the visitor that the intentions and the ultimate aim of the Founder of the Republic have not yet been carried out.

We proceeded to the house. It is a wood-building, with a colonnade in front, with two detached wings for the guests and servants towards the yard, and a small garden in the French style to the right. It does not look sumptuous, but comfortable,—like the abode of a wealthy man accustomed to afford extensive hospitality. But, at present, it is a desolate spot; decay and carelessness pervade the mansion; the bricks of the floor in the gallery are worn out by the steps of the tourist; the mortar is crumbling; the painting is faded; the trouble of cleaning is left to the rain and to the storm.

In the hall we saw the key of the Bastille, hanging over one of the doors. Lafayette sent it as a present to Washington, when the fortress of Paris had been stormed by the people, as a symbol that the arbitrary sway of despotism was broken in France. The key is here, at Mount Vernon; but all France has now been turned into one vast Bastille!—Over the other door we noticed a hand-telescope. I thought it was the same used by the General in his battles; but no,—it is a modern acquisition of the proprietor, who uses the relics of the great hero in his own way:—he sleeps in his bed; he puts reprinted English novels into the systematically distributed library of his ancestor; and, without respect for the arrangement of the residence, earnestly and formally made by the illustrious proprietor, effaces the solemn stamp of the spot, both by neglect and by modern alterations. He seems to be more proud that the Washingtons of the old country had quartered their arms with those of England and Scotland, than of the man who has made the name of the family an emblem of moral greatness in politics.

The motto of the American Washingtons is: "Exitus acta probat,"—The issue tests the deeds,—a motto which admits most easily of an interpretation destructive of all moral principle, viz.: that external success is the criterion

of right and wrong. The motto, in fact, is one not unsuitable to a Bonaparte. The English Washingtons had another device: "Distus solo nobilitas"—and George Washington acted upon *this* principle. Fortune did indeed favor him; yet it is not his surprising success, but his virtue, which makes him great in the eyes of all those who do not judge by the result alone. Others have struggled like him; but they had no Lafayette, no Rochambeau, no foreign armies and fleets, to support the cause of righteousness; they failed,—but the historian will do justice to their aim and their genius. It is striking, that the two great nations who enjoy constitutional liberty, owe their liberation both to foreign aid: England, to the Dutch army of William; America, to the French land and naval forces before Yorktown. It is our age which has been described by Burke, where he says: "It has at all times been the language of a voluptuous and frivolous age, that while a State is flourishing within itself, and suffers no immediate injury from others, it has no concern in the quarrels, interest and misfortunes of its neighbors." It seems that such thoughts crossed not only my mind, but likewise that of the Americans of our party, when we stood in the library of Mount Vernon, where the plaster busts of Washington and Lafayette face one another. Grace Greenwood broke the silence, remarking that Kossuth too will find such friends. He replied, "We rely on God, on the justness of our cause, our iron will, honest hearts, and good swords."

On our return up the Potomac, I expressed my disappointment, that the great American nation allows Mount Vernon to become a ruin, instead of making it the proud monument of their glory. "The grave of an Indian chief," said I, "would be more honored by his tribe, at least it would never be turned into an advertisement for a stone-cutter. Sultan Bajazet Ildenin wished that wheat should be grown on his tomb, that even after his death his

dust might be of some use for his people. Three centuries have passed away, a splendid marble building has been raised over his resting-place at Broussa; but in the centre of the gorgeous dome, on the spot where he is buried, the Turks religiously sow every year some handful of wheat, in respect for the wish of their great ruler."

A young Southerner, who had of course brought a stick from Washington's grave, answered to my remarks that this may be a European feeling, but the Americans rejoice to see Mount Vernon in the hands of Washington's relatives. A Northerner, probably an abolitionist, said, "It is not to be remedied; every thing decays in the South, things grow only in the North." Other gentlemen assured me, that Congress will probably in a short time take steps to buy the property from the present owners, to restore the house to the condition in which it was fifty years ago, and to connect the estate with a public college or some other establishment of general benefit. I hope that this intention will soon be carried into effect, but, until then, I would advise every American to dissuade the foreigner from a pilgrimage to Mount Vernon. A generation which does not honor the grave of its Father, has no claim to be remembered by its children.

CHAPTER V.

NEW JERSEY, CONNECTICUT, MASSACHUSETTS.

I. NEW JERSEY.

THE first white inhabitants of New Jersey were Swedes, but being unprotected by their mother State, they had soon to submit to the Dutch, who had bought the right to the country on the Hudson River from the first discoverer, Henry Hudson, and founded New York and Albany. The extension of the English colonies soon involved the New Netherlands in a war with New England and Virginia, until, in 1674, the States-General exchanged their North American Province for the tropical Surinam, Dutch Guyana. At that time, agricultural colonies were not much prized; settlements were made abroad principally with an eye to commercial enterprise. Smerenburg, in Spitzbergen, was more valuable, on account of the whale fisheries, than all the country around New York, where the fur trade decreased, from year to year, as the Indians were exterminated by the gin which they received in exchange for beaver skins. Surinam, therefore, though unhealthy, yet since its tropical climate was suited to the production of coffee, sugar and spices, seemed more than a fair equivalent for the cold country on the Hudson and Delaware. Had the Dutch States-General availed themselves of their position at the mouth of the Rhine, had they encouraged the emigration from Germany, which was just at that time suffering under the Thirty Years' War, they could have founded a great Dutch empire in America. But they

had no thought that their newly conquered liberty was to be extended on others; they acted in the spirit of shopkeepers, not in that of statesmen; they enriched themselves above expectation, but their political power soon diminished. In spite of the wealth of her citizens, Holland has sunk to the rank of a second-rate power, unable to resist the aggression of her ambitious neighbor, maintaining her independence only by foreign alliances, which could not prevent her spoliation by the French Republic and Empire; and though the treaties of 1815 have restored to her her valuable colonies, minus the Cape of Good Hope, the second French Empire, under a prince who was born to the throne of Holland, may once more swallow her up.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.*)

April 17th.—We are again in the hands of committees, the guests of the cities of New Jersey. To vary our pleasures, we came from Philadelphia to Burlington on the steamboat. But we found that the connection between the cars and the boat is as little punctual as between the different railways. We arrived just in time on the Delaware to steam off, but our luggage, with that of all the passengers of the train with which we had come, remained at the terminus.

Burlington is a fine, quiet old city, less "go-ahead" than the great marts of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, which seem to attract all the commerce of the North-west, and increase with the rapidity of London, Manchester, and Liverpool. The first Napoleon had the intention to settle here somewhere in the neighborhood, when he surrendered after the battle Waterloo and the loss of Paris, appealing to English hospitality. He was sent to the tropical St. Helena, but his brother, King Joseph of Spain, and

several other members of his family, came to Bordentown, a small place in the vicinity of Burlington, and bought here extensive lands. In their expectation that the country between the two most important commercial cities of the Union would rise in value in proportion to the increase of the intercourse between Philadelphia and New York, they were somewhat disappointed. The air of America did not seem altogether to agree with the Imperial exiles. We found here several gentlemen who remembered them very well, especially Prince Lucien Murat, who has not yet paid several of his creditors. One of them went to Paris when the fortunes of the Bonapartes were again so unexpectedly improved. But Prince Lucien received him so warmly, and overwhelmed him with such amiable expressions of friendship, that the creditor could not find the appropriate moment to present the I. O. U. of the prince, and he returned to New Jersey charmed with the hospitality, though not with the punctuality of his princely debtor.

We are here in the house of the Mayor, Colonel Wall. It looks more solid and comfortable in the old English style, than those in the new parts of the country. For the first time in America, I saw a good old picture—water-fowl, by Snyders; it was a present of Joseph Bonaparte to the father of our host, who had been his counsel. In the house of Mr. Boudinot, who vied with the amiable family of Mr. Wall in kind hospitality to us, there are ancient family pictures; one by Sir Godfrey Kneller, another by an old French artist. The Boudinots were expelled from France at the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, and after having resided for a time in England, they settled in America, where the father of our friend had been one of the Chairmen of the Continental Congress. An ancient or illustrious descent is justly prized even here in the democratic country, though it gives not the slightest advantage over the self-made man.

April 20th.—In order to go to Trenton, we wanted to cross the Delaware; but the storm blew so violently that the ferryman refused to take the responsibility of carrying us over; we therefore had to wait until the Trenton committee got an express train on the right bank railway, which brought us to their city; but a heavy rain blinded the windows of the cars, so that we could not see anything of the scenery around, except that it is flat. For an American this is a memorable country. It was here that Washington, in December 1776, retreated before the superior forces of the victorious English, whose advance the Patriots were unable to check. These were the most gloomy days of the struggle, when American liberty seemed already to be lost forever. It was here, again, that the General, a few days later, fell upon the enemy; surprised the Hessians at Trenton, and defeated a detachment at Princeton. For those accustomed to the great wars in Europe, actions in which the loss of the enemy does not exceed a hundred dead, seem trifling; but the Americans then captured 1300 men, and the moral result was immense; it gave hope to those who began to despair, and was a sufficient reason for Lord Cornwallis not to advance upon Philadelphia. The desponding spirit of the country revived, and the Americans saw that they might resist the enemy with advantage even in the open field.

At Trenton, as well as in Burlington, Kossuth was greeted with loud enthusiasm; receptions, banquets and speeches followed in quick succession. The same demonstrations take place here in Jersey City. We are in the elegant house of Mr. Gregory, a wealthy and highly informed gentleman. This city almost forms a suburb of New York, being divided from it only by the estuary of the Hudson River, which is crossed by ferry-boats every five minutes; the society, of course, is that of the Empire City. We amused ourselves with music and conversation.

I learnt that New Jersey was the last of the free States which had emancipated its slaves, and that 222 of them are even yet in the intermediate condition of apprenticeship. The next State which will follow this step is the neighboring Delaware, where slavery exists almost only nominally, as the number of slaves has already fallen off to two thousand three hundred; a few years more will add this commonwealth to the free States.

In the evening the servant came into the room to say that the Rev. Mr. N. was in the ante-room. "Ask him to sit down on the sofa," said our host, "I will come soon." "Who is the gentleman?" inquired I from one of the ladies: "why is he not asked in?" She laughed, and answered, "he is a *colored* man." When I heard this I accompanied Mr. Gregory to the hall, and began a conversation with the negro clergyman. He was collecting money to erect a Methodist church for the blacks, and as he had been told that a recommendation from Kossuth would greatly further his purpose, he had come here. Mr. Gregory advised him not to ask this favor from Kossuth, as it would damage the Hungarian cause by countenancing the report of Kossuth's enemies, that he meddles with the domestic interests of the Union. The black clergyman replied, "I willingly accept good advice," and gave up his purpose the more readily, as Mr. Gregory promised to give his aid. The freedman was of the darkest brown complexion; he had a high forehead, intelligent eyes, and a well-shaped mouth. He told me that he had originally been a Virginian slave, and was well off. His master, a very benevolent man, died, and the slaves were all sold. His next master, at Richmond, was rather severe, yet not unjust; he would have remained with him, but one day he heard that he was to be sold away to the South; this he did not fancy, and escaped to Canada, where he found freedom, but no livelihood. He therefore returned to the State

of New York, got employment with a merchant, and throve so well that in a short time he had saved a handsome sum. He then wrote to his former master in Richmond, asking for what price he would send him his manumission; $800 were required. By the help of some generous friends the sum was raised and forwarded to the slaveholder, who returned the necessary papers, and made a present to his former slave of all the money. The whole transaction does certainly equal credit to the white and to the black.

II. CONNECTICUT.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.*)

April 23.—To arrange some trifling affairs, we went to New York, whilst Kossuth addressed the enthusiastic population of Newark. Yesterday morning he met us at the railway terminus of New York, where the Massachusetts committee took charge of us, to carry us to New England. In the Middle States, as well as in the South, the character of the New Englanders is described as reserved and calculating; their temper as stern and cold, their manners as stiff and unelegant. New England is said to be the country of money-making Yankees and political schemers; of theoretical scholars and blue-stockings. But on the other hand, we found in the West and South, that wherever a place throve more than the neighborhood, it was principally due to emigrated New Englanders; and the clean and nice appearance of Cleveland and the Western Reserve in Ohio, peopled by Yankees, gave me the most favorable impression of the character of the inhabitants of the North-eastern States. Mr. Anson Burlingame, the Senator in the Massachusetts State Legislature, whose acquaintance we now made, confirmed this opinion by his

appearance; if all his fellow-citizens are like him, they are surely amiable, warm-hearted, and refined. Our friend Mr. Carter was likewise of the number of the Massachusetts gentlemen; we met him now for the first time, though Mr. Pulszky had long ago been in correspondence with him, and we were glad to make now the personal acquaintance of a man who had ever been a sincere friend and an able defender of the cause of Hungary.

We soon entered Connecticut, the State which, like Massachusetts, was founded on religious principles, not on love of lucre, by men who began their settlements, not with a trading post defended by a fort, but with the church and the school-house; by men accustomed not to yield passively to authority, but to govern themselves in their own way by the will of the majority, and who declared that the word of God should be the sole rule for regulating the affairs of the commonwealth. They did not reason much about the abstract principles of freedom, they enacted several restrictive laws regulating the manners and customs of the people, and interfering with their dress and amusements, but they never did it against the will of the majority, and this spirit seems not yet extinct; the agitation for the Maine liquor law, which prohibits the sale of spirits of every description, bears evidence in this respect. I had heard that the Yankees are sacrificing every feeling to gain, and bending every faculty to acquisition; but I found myself agreeably surprised by the charming appearance of New Haven, with its broad places, and the magnificent double alley of elms, which, forming a vault with their branches, resemble a gigantic cathedral with two side aisles round their nave. The court-house, an elegant building, facing an extensive meadow, was the place where the city authorities addressed Kossuth under the colonnade, to which a broad staircase leads from the green field below, crowded by a respectfully listening multitude. From the

opposite window of the hotel where I was seated, the view was gay and brilliant. After the reception, we visited the stately Yale College, founded in the beginning of the last century, by Elihu Yale, a native of New Haven, who had acquired a large estate in the East Indies, married an Indian lady of fortune, and had become Governor of the East India Company in London. Another son of this State, Colonel Trumbull, the friend of Washington, bequeathed his own paintings to the college. Though they are not of great artistical value, they have the highest importance for every American, as they contain about 250 portraits of persons distinguished in the American Revolution, painted by him from life. The larger compositions are devoted to the principal events of that memorable period, and a series of them has been executed by the Colonel in a larger size for the rotunda of the capitol at Washington. Though the correctness of his design is not unexceptionable, and his coloring less glowing than his patriotism, yet this gallery is a fine historical monument.

We proceeded thence to Whitneyville—the large musket manufactory of Mr. Whitney—through a picturesque valley, watered by a fine stream, and bordered on one side by rocky heights. The proprietor of the factory is the son of Eli Whitney, who became eminent by the invention of the cotton-gin, a machine for separating the seed from the cotton, by which alone the culture of cotton could be extended. His invention was worth millions of dollars to the growers of cotton; but, like Fulton and other great inventors, he earned more honors than money; others reaped the benefit of his genius. He erected the manufactory of fire-arms which we now were visiting. The workmen had contributed twenty rifles for the Hungarian cause, and had expressed their desire to hand them personally to Kossuth. We saw them first engaged in their work, and then again passing before their guest and shaking

hands with him. They all looked healthy, clean and intelligent. I was told that their wages amounted to from one and a half to four dollars a day.

Whilst the ceremony of welcome went on, I hastened with Mr. Pulszky to the houses where the workmen live. They are neat whitewashed buildings, one story high, surrounded by a garden, all of pretty equal size. We entered one, and found, on the ground-floor, a nice carpeted parlor. A piano stood at the wall, a round table in the midst of the room, several elegant chairs around, and various ornamental trinkets upon the mantel-piece. The upper story was occupied by three bed-rooms, each containing a large bed, a wash-stand, a table, a drawer and a couple of cane-chairs. *In all these rooms we noticed books.* I was curious to see what kind of literature interested the working classes here; I found the Bible, and instead of novels the life of the Virginian statesman, Patrick Henry, travels, history, a translation of Ovid's Metamorphosis, and a heap of newspapers. We visited a second house; it was of the same description. We parted, with deep respect for a community where the workmen earn so much as to enjoy life with their families and to cultivate their minds. On our return, we were shown the grave of the two regicides, who under the Restoration had lived here in Connecticut, protected by the sympathies of the Colonists against the bloody decrees of Charles I.

After a most pleasant dinner with the cordial Mayor, we went on the railway to Springfield in Massachusetts. At Hartford, as on every station where the train stopped, enthusiastic crowds gathered round the cars. Kossuth addressed them with a few words; and, in the moment when the train began to move, a gentleman handed to him a book and disappeared in the crowd. From the words written on the first page, Kossuth saw that it was a keepsake from Mr. Roger Casement, late of the East India

army, who had rendered him an important service in Turkey. He had taken in his charge the address of the Marylebone meeting, but before he arrived in Constantinople, the fortunes of Hungary had turned, and Kossuth was detained in Widdin. Casement proceeded thither just at the time when the question of the extradition of the Hungarians was pending before the Divan. Being a man of few words, Casement sat in the apartment of Kossuth silent, without taking any interest in the conversation. A courier had just arrived from Constantinople with a message from the Grand Vizier, that, though the majority of the *Ministry* was against the extradition, the majority of the *Divan* was of opinion that Turkey could not risk a war with Russia, and unless the refugees would turn Mussulmen, they would be given up to Austria.

The danger was imminent. General Bem embraced Islamism. Kossuth declared that he chose rather an ignominious death than to forsake his faith. It became of importance to inform Lord Palmerston of the circumstances, and to implore his good offices. A letter was written, but —how to convey it to London? it must arrive there in ten days, or it would be too late. Kossuth asked Captain H., who had translated the letter—for at that time Kossuth was not yet able to write in English—what could be done? "Well," answered the Captain, pointing to the silent Englishman, "this seems the man to do it;" and approaching him he said: "The Governor is lost if this letter does not reach the foreign office in ten days; will you deliver it?" "Give me the letter," replied Casement quietly. He said a dry farewell to Kossuth; in ten minutes he was on horseback; and, after ten days of uninterrupted travel, he handed the dispatch to Lord Palmerston. Before an answer could arrive from England, the magnanimous liberality of the Sultan had decided the question by declaring that he would rather undergo all the chances of a war

than to infringe the laws of hospitality. Yet this unforeseen turn does not diminish the value of Mr. Casement's service, and Kossuth much regretted that he now again had no opportunity to thank the generous Englishman.

III. SPRINGFIELD, NORTHAMPTON, WORCESTER.

April 24th.—At Springfield we were received by the Legislative Committee of Massachusetts. Gen. Wilson, the Chairman of the Senate, one of the leaders of the Free Soil party, has a most benevolent countenance. From an humble station in life he made his way to the elevated one which he now holds, by industry, perseverance, and uprightness. Mr. Erastus Hopkins, of the House of Representatives, was already known to us, from Pittsburg, whither he had brought the invitation to Kossuth from his State; and where he had delivered in the meeting a most eloquent oration. He greeted us here as old friends, and we were soon engaged in an animated conversation. The hotel in Springfield is remarkably smart and neat, and exhibits this Northern place in decided advantage, as compared with cities of equal size in the South and the West. As to the reserved ways and cold hearts of New England, we have not yet found them out; people are as kind and enthusiastic as in Ohio, though not so boisterously clamorous as in some parts of the West, and the hand-shakings here do not leave so lasting an impression.

After a meeting yesterday morning, we went to Northampton. The railway thither is carried through a very pleasant valley, enlivened by the Connecticut River. Finely undulating hills crown the landscape, marked by high cultivation, though the soil is poor in comparison with the Western bottoms. The huge rail-fences which give to Western scenery such a rough aspect, are here replaced by

hedges and light wooden paling. The country looks more European than any other we have seen until now on this side the ocean. We entered Northampton with Mr. Hopkins, who had kindly offered us his house to spend there a quiet Sunday. But the citizens of Northampton wished also to greet Kossuth; their militia, and several gentlemen on horseback, formed a merry procession, and carried him to the church, where they had assembled to hear his eloquent voice. I enjoyed meanwhile the society of our amiable hostess and her sweet children. Northampton is not a city; it is only a town. The difference between these denominations is here,—that a town has no corporation; but all the adult male population assembles in regular primary meetings, elects the town magistrates, votes the taxes, and governs itself. The cities are governed by a mayor, the board of aldermen, and the common council, all elected by universal suffrage.*

The site of Northampton is poetically attractive; most of the abodes are detached villas, with porticoes and colonnades; and though all the columns and houses are only of wood, they have a stately and elegant appearance, enhanced by the ancient elms and maple-trees which surround them in rich groups. Opposite to our window a hill rises, covered with trees, amidst which stands a splendid building; it looks like granite, but it is nevertheless wood. The former proprietor had built it, and spent all his capital on the edifice; but he had found himself out of pocket before he had furnished it; he therefore was obliged to sell the property, and to re-commence his career in a log-cabin in Illinois.

After dinner we took a drive about the town, and enjoyed a beautiful view, which reminded me of some of

* In Johnson's Dictionary, a city is: A town which is, or was, the seat of a bishop!

the loveliest valleys on the Main in Germany. Dr. Munde, a German refugee, was of our party. He is a distinguished disciple of Priessnitz, the well-known peasant of Graefenberg, who invented systematic hydropathy. He had come to America without means, but his talent and his honest countenance found credit; he was entrusted with a hydropathic institution, the proprietor of which had just died, whilst the property was heavily encumbered; and two years had sufficed to Dr. Munde to clear the mortgages, and to acquire the property. He gave us an instance of the go-ahead way in which Americans build their houses. In January he had contracted with a builder for an enlargement of his establishment, for sixteen rooms and a large parlor, to be ready on the first of May. It was ready the first of April. Of course, American houses in general, with the exception of the sumptuous abodes of the wealthy, are like the lodging-houses in London; the doors and windows are all of the same size and the same shape,—made and sold by the dozen; and as they never fit exactly, they afford the cheapest and most unartificial ventilation.

In the evening, many visitors assembled at the pleasant house of Mrs. Hopkins. I much enjoyed the warm-hearted conversation of the ladies, and was struck how well informed they were, without the least affectation of learning, and how old ladies took the liveliest interest in all the topics; European politics and opinions, fashions and amusements. One lady felt so deeply for Hungary, that when she attempted to speak on the subject she burst into tears. We repeatedly met with such intense sympathy in this country.

The venerable father of Mrs. Hopkins, W. Allen, the late President of Bowdoin College, looked amidst us like a patriarch of old, revered by all around him. He is the author of a valuable biographical and historical dictionary. In Europe,

it is a general impression that in the new country the ties of piety and reverence towards the parents are almost entirely obliterated. Yet I found the European continental habit of parents and children remaining under the same roof, even after the marriage of the latter, more prevailing here, than in England.

April 25th.—Ever since we have entered Massachusetts, Kossuth's journey has resembled a triumphal progress: the bells are pealing in every place we approach; cannons are booming, the streets are festively decorated, standards flutter in the air, and the population turns out to greet the foreign exile with enthusiastic welcome. The clergymen of the towns, the mayors of the cities, are at the head of the people. Here, in Worcester, which bears the epithet of *The Heart of the Commonwealth*, the enthusiasm is unbounded. Whilst I write, the houses across the street are brilliantly illuminated; speeches are made from the balcony to the multitude by the members of the committee. An immense assemblage took place on the Common, to welcome Kossuth, to which he responded by a splendid address. Again they thronged to the City Hall, where another meeting of the Association of the Friends of Hungary was held; and yet they are not tired of orations, they give vent to their feelings by enlarging on the theme to which Kossuth has given the key-note. The most striking feature of this scene is to me the perfect preservation of order amidst this apparent confusion, and the uninterrupted attention with which they listen to every word. We had seen larger crowds in the West; Kossuth had addressed at Cincinnati on one occasion about 30,000 people; the large place before the Court House there was crammed, but the multitude resembled the waves of an agitated sea, and not one single sentence could be understood. Here, on the Common, no expression was lost, no shrieks were heard, no pressure was noticed, though the audience was more

numerous than the entire population of Worcester; people had flocked hither from the whole neighborhood.

I saw with pleasure that the people of Massachusetts are still the same as they were two centuries ago. "About this time," (1639,) says Josiah Quincy in his address to the citicens of Boston, on the 17th of September, 1830, at the close of the second century from the first settlement of the city, "the General Court took exception at the length of the *lectures*, then the great delight of the people, and the ill effects resulting from their frequency, whereby poor people were led greatly to neglect their affairs; to the hazard, also, of their health, owing to their long continuance in the night." Boston expressed strong dislike at this interference, "fearing that the precedent might enthral them to the civil power, and, besides, be a blemish with them on their posterity; as though they needed to be regulated by the civil magistrate, and raise an ill savor of their coldness; as if it were possible for the people of Boston to complain of too much preaching."

"The magistrates, fearful lest the people should break their bonds, were content to apologize; to abandon their scheme of shortening lectures or diminishing their number, and to rest satisfied with a general understanding that assemblies should break up in such season as that people, dwelling a mile or two off, might get home by daylight." Winthrop, on this occasion, passed the following eulogium on the people of Boston, which every period of their history amply confirms: "They were generally of that understanding and moderation, as that they would be easily guided in their way by any rule from Scripture or sound reason."

Worcester is a manufacturing city, growing by the extension of industrial enterprise, and the population has always distinguished itself by its liberal spirit, and warm support of the cause of freedom.

IV. MASSACHUSETTS.

When Kossuth entered Boston, the sentiment on the triumphal arch above the steps leading to the State House, "Remember there is a community in the destiny of mankind," seemed to thrill through the hearts of the people of Massachusetts. Algernon Sidney's celebrated words, (Manus haec inimica tyrannis,) *Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem*, which is the motto on the escutcheon of the State, were, on this occasion, most appropriately placed on the front of the State House, and every one seemed to acknowledge, that wherever the battle of freedom is fought, it is the spirit of Otis, and Quincy, and Hancock, and Adams, and Warren, and of all the martyrs and heroes of Massachusetts, which moves the oppressed to rise for the assertion of their rights.

Governor Boutwell received Kossuth amidst the cheers of a numerous crowd, under the portico, to which a large flight of steps leads. Thirty-four companies of militia stood under arms below on the Common; flags and streamers of different nations waved in the breeze, and a truly New England inscription occupied a conspicuous place: "*Religion, Education, Freedom—a tri-color for the world.*" Amongst all the splendid receptions in honor of Kossuth, there was none more dignified, more elegant and more tastefully arranged, than that of Boston.

Massachusetts has always taken a most prominent part in the politics of the United States. It clings, however, more to principles than to compromises, and has, therefore, not furnished so many Presidents and Heads of Department to the Federal Government, as might be expected from the talents, and the high intellectual development of the sons of the Bay State. The political parties in this Commonwealth were just now in a novel position. Massachusetts had always led the vanguard of the progressive

party in the question of slavery. John Quincy Adams, whose zeal in the latter half of his career never abated to advocate the rights of the black race, has left many illustrious disciples here—the Manns, the Parkers, the Sumners, and though some of his adherents, like Garrison and his friends, have carried the matter with more enthusiasm than judgment, a decided anti-slavery feeling always characterized the Puritan city, which, therefore, strongly opposed the annexation of Texas, and every aggressive war which might extend the territory of slavery. The legislature of Massachusetts had also passed a bill which practically defeated the surrender of fugitive slaves, and this step had been followed by Connecticut and Vermont. The intimate connection of the Boston capitalists with London, and the high reputation of its literary men, in England, has, in many respects, given shape to the judgment of Englishmen on these matters. Europe sees America principally through the medium of Boston. But when, in consequence of the eventual admission of California as a free State into the Union, the South boisterously raised the cry of secession, the rich Boston people, too prosperous to risk any change in the existing relations, were suddenly silenced in respect to slavery; they gave up the laws protecting the fugitives; they did not inquire much how far the threat was meant in earnest, and hailed the "Compromise" as the most important political measure of the age. The great Daniel Webster, the embodiment of the deep and comprehensive New England spirit, threw all the weight of his intellectual superiority, of his massive eloquence, and of his experience and reputation, into the scale. He abandoned the rigidity of his former principles—the Fugitive Slave Law was carried. But in his State the results of his vast efforts were only temporary. For one moment the people, congratulating themselves on the preservation of the Union, seemed all to approve most heartily the com-

bination of the statesmen; the colored fugitives who had found a home in the "freest Commonwealth on earth," had to flee to monarchic Canada; all those who protected them were denounced as enemies of mankind and disturbers of social order; but the last consequence was the disruption of the Whig party in Massachusetts. Many influential men would not abandon the principles which they had held all their life; they raised their voice in spite of the raging storm; they seceded from their former friends, and constituted themselves as Freesoilers, or Liberty Party, strong enough to get the balance of power in this State, and in order to secure in the Legislature at Boston the election of their candidate, Charles Sumner, to the Senate at Washington; they made a successful coalition with the Democratic party, and defeated the Whigs in the State election. This political move had great influence on the society of Boston. People connected for years by intimate social intercourse, grew cold to one another, and the refined literary circles separated into different camps. The pretension of the Whigs that their party included all the men distinguished by superior literary talents and high culture of mind, which had been credited in Europe, though the Democrats, Bancroft, Hawthorne and Bryant, had sufficiently proved that it was not founded, received now a new check. Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Emerson, Parker, Dr. Howe, and many other names of distinction, were no longer in the same ranks with Everett, Winthrop, Prescott and Ticknor. Talent, like patriotism, never can belong to one exclusive party wherever the people freely governs itself, and no oppression compels every generous mind to go into opposition. The coalition of the Freesoilers and Democrats had yet another result in Massachusetts—it gave a higher tone to democratic politics. The liquor law was passed by the coalition, an evidence that the Puritanic spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers had

not departed from their descendants, of which it is chronicled that in 1630 Governor Winthrop began to discourage the practice of drinking toasts at table, so it grew by little and little to be disused. On the whole, it seemed to me not only here, but all over the Union, that the old parties are breaking up, and that probably new names and different distinctions will rise in a short time, by the new crystallization of parties on different poles. After our return to Europe, the last Presidential election, in which the conservative Whigs did not co-operate heartily with the friends of General Scott, has probably decided the fate of the Whig party. There is a deep resentment between the two wings which had constituted the party, the Silver Greys and the woolly-heads, or Seward men, which must lead to a final disruption. And again, the Democratic party has got such an overwhelming majority that it can scarcely remain united, as there is no numerically powerful opposition against it, which would bind its different fractions together. The next session of Congress will probably show, that the members of the Democratic party do not agree on the most important measures, be it the Homestead Bill or foreign policy, the improvement of the Western waters, or the protection of American industry. It is a striking coincidence with the political state of England, where also the exclusive government by two great political parties becomes every day more difficult, and where no cabinet can be ejected without coalitions.

Whatever has been the party judgment on Webster's policy in reference to the Fugitive Slave Law, yet he remains the pride of Massachusetts. His generous behavior towards Kossuth reconciled many of those from whom he had seceded; they saw that he had not yet become a European statesman, who does not acknowledge anything but success, and who fears to lose his character of practical statesmanship by honoring contemporaneous moral

elevation, if unsuccessful in the struggle. They cannot forget how faithfully the late Secretary of State served his country, and how much he has added to its glory. Theodore Parker, his political opponent, who mourned over him as having lost him already before his death, can yet not refrain his enthusiasm when he describes him: "He was a great man," he says; "a man of the largest mould, a great body and a great brain: he seemed made to last a hundred years. Since Socrates, there has seldom been a head so massive huge. Dupuytren and Cuvier are said to be the only men in our day, that have had a brain so vast. Since Charlemagne, I think there has not been such a grand figure in all Christendom. A large man, decorous in dress, dignified in deportment, he walked as he felt himself a King. Men from the country, who knew him not, stared at him as he passed through our streets. The coal-heavers and porters of London looked on him as on one of the great forces of the globe; they recognized a native King. In the Senate of the United States he looked an Emperor in that council. What a mouth he had! It was a lion's mouth. Yet there was a sweet grandeur in his smile, and a woman's softness when he would. What a brow it was! what eyes! like charcoal-fire in the bottom of a deep, dark well. His face was rugged with volcanic fires, great passions and great thoughts.

> The front of Jove himself,
> An eye like Mars to threaten and command."

It is remarkable that, though military chieftains are always very popular with the people of the United States, and generally have a decided advantage in the Presidential election, yet military feats are here less prized by public opinion, than good administrative measures, and eloquence in Court and Congress. General Gates, the victor of Saratoga Springs, who captured the English army un-

der Burgoyne, is hardly ever mentioned, whilst the names of Quincy, of Hancock, of Patrick Henry, of Hamilton, of Adams and Jefferson, are as popular as household words. General Jackson has become the hero of the Democratic party, less by reason of his campaigns than of his Presidential policy; and the three great statesmen, whose loss the United States have bewailed in the last year, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, are dearer to the American heart than all their heroes of the Mexican war.

"By God's assistance, we will be ready in our persons, and with such of our families as are to go with us, to embark for the plantation by the first of March next, to pass the seas under God's protection, to inhabit and continue in New England. Provided always, that before the last of September next, *the whole government, together with the patent, be first legally transferred and established, to remain with us and others which shall inhabit the said plantation.*" These were the terms of the engagement made by the principal emigrants, the patriarchs of New England, the year before they left the mother country, and the Declaration of Independence is already foreshadowed in this resolution. Politically, Massachusetts has always been a Republic in its institutions, even under the supremacy of the crown. But for long years all the energies of the settlers were concentrated to avail themselves of their local situation, and of the difficulties of the parent State, to defeat the centralizing attempts of the crown. The perpetual apprehension that a royal Governor would be imposed upon them by the law of force, kept their vigilance alive, and their patriotism awake. When, under William and Mary, the people of Massachusetts were forced to yield their claims of Independence to the crown, they did so with the express avowal that they would take up all their old privileges whenever a favorable opportunity should present itself, and in 1776

it did present itself. The results of the settlement of the Puritan fathers, in a political aspect, are elegantly described by Josiah Quincy in his address on the anniversary of the settlement of Boston.

"If we take a survey of the happy New England family, which claims descent from the early emigrants; if we restrict our thoughts only to the local sphere of New England, what scenes open upon our sight! How wild and visionary would seem our prospects, did we indulge only the natural anticipations of the future! Already, on an area of seventy thousand square miles, a population of two millions, (now three millions,) all, but comparatively a few, descendants of the early emigrants! Six independent commonwealths, with constitutions varying in the relations and proportions of power, yet uniform in all their general principles, diverse in their political arrangements, yet each sufficient for its own necessities; all harmonious with those without, and peaceful within; embracing under the denomination of *towns*, upwards of twelve hundred effective republics, with qualified powers, indeed, but possessing potent influences, subject themselves to the respective State sovereignties, yet directing all their operations, and shaping their policy by constitutional agencies; swayed no less than the greater republics, by passions, interests and affections; like them, exciting competitions which rouse into action the latent energies of mind, and infuse into the mass of each society a knowledge of the nature of its interests, and a capacity to understand and share in the defence of those of the commonwealth. The effect of these minor republics is daily seen in the existence of practical talents, and in the readiness with which those talents can be called into the public service of the State."

So great is the love of self-government in its primitive form here in Massachusetts, that it was only in 1822 that the act of the Legislature was passed conferring upon Bos-

ton the name and privilege of a city. The people did not like to give up their immediate share in the public local administration, even to those whom they elected as their representatives, until the size of the growing place had become unmanageable to primary meetings. And this tendency is prevalent all over New England. It is in the primary meetings that the local taxes are voted, yet there is no commonwealth which applies a comparatively larger sum to public education than Massachusetts. And this is the second great feature of New England—the high value attached to education. It is also inherited from the first settlers. "The glory of our ancestors," says Josiah Quincy, "radiates from no point more strongly than from their institutions of learning. The people of New England are the first known to history who provided, in the original constitution of their society, for the education of the whole population out of the general fund. In other countries provisions have been made of this character in favor of certain particular classes, or for the poor by way of charity. But here first were the children of the whole community invested with the right of being educated at the expense of the whole society; and not only this—the obligation to take advantage of that right was enforced by severe supervision and penalties. By simple laws they founded their commonwealth on the only basis on which a republic has any hope of happiness and continuance, the general information of the people. They denominated it barbarism not to be able perfectly to read the English tongue and to know the general laws. In soliciting a general contribution for the support of the neighboring university, they declared, that skill in the tongues and liberal arts is not only laudable, but necessary for the well-being of the commonwealth; and in requiring every town having one hundred householders to set up a grammar-school, provided with a master able to fit youth for the University, the

object avowed is, to enable men to obtain a knowledge of the Scriptures, and by the acquaintance of the ancient tongues to qualify them to discern the true sense and meaning of the original, however corrupted by false glosses. Thus liberal and thus elevated, in respect of learning, were the views of our ancestors."

Originally the schools here were instituted to defy the schemes of the Devil, "it being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures," as the statute says; but also to the end, "that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in Church and Commonwealth."

The present system contains:

"1. *The Primary Schools*—each taught by one female teacher, elected annually, in July, by the District Committees. The schools receive all applicants between four and eight years of age. Here are taught the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, reading, spelling, the use of the slate, the principles of arithmetic, and plain sewing, at discretion. At eight years of age, every scholar, if deemed qualified, receives a certificate of transfer to the grammar-schools; monthly, quarterly, and yearly examinations are obligatory upon the different committees,—the last by the Executive Committee, in the first two weeks of May.

2. *The English Grammar and Writing Schools*—taught by masters, ushers and female assistants. These receive all children who apply and read easy prose, at the age of eight years, and children only seven may be admitted when they shall satisfactorily appear, on examination by the grammar master, to be otherwise qualified for admission. Boys retain their places in these schools until the next annual exhibition after they are fourteen, and girls after they are sixteen years of age. Special leave from the Sub-Committee may, however, be given for longer attendance. In these schools are taught chiefly spelling, reading, English gram-

mar, geography, history, writing, arithmetic, algebra, natural philosophy and drawing. Geometry, physiology, and natural history are, however, allowed, and vocal music is taught by a professor, semi-weekly. Every school is furnished with a set of philosophical apparatus, globes, outline maps, a pianoforte, and all other desirable aids to the ample illustration of the subjects taught. The departments are subdivided into four grades or classes, with prescribed text-books and courses of study to each, 'and no pupil is allowed to attend without a full supply of these books.'

3. *The English High School*—under the charge of a master, sub-master, and so many assistants as shall give one instructor to every thirty-five pupils. Boys only are admitted to this school, the candidates must be at least twelve years old, and can remain members of the school only three years. This school was instituted with the design of furnishing a complete English education to those young men of the city not intended for a collegiate course. Instruction is given in the elements of mathematics and natural philosophy, with their application to the sciences and the arts, in grammar, rhetoric, and Belles-Lettres, in moral philosophy, in history, natural and civil, and in the French language. This institution is furnished with a valuable mathematical and philosophical apparatus, and a fine telescope.

The fourth and last grade in the system of Public Instruction is the Latin Grammar School. The instructors are the same in number and rank as the High Schools, and, as at the last, must have been educated at some respectable College. The rudiments of the Latin and Greek languages are taught, and scholars are fully qualified for any College. Instruction is also given in Mathematics, History, Declamation and English Composition. The qualifications and the time for admission are the same

as with the High Schools, and the regular course of instruction continues five years. Special permission may, however, be given for longer attendance.

The *Masters* of the *Latin* and *English High Schools* have a salary of $2400 each, per annum; the *Sub-Masters* of both schools have $1500 each, and the ushers have $800 for the first year of service, with an annual increase of $100 for each additional year of service, until the salary amounts to $1200, at which sum it remains fixed. All the *grammar* and *writing masters* have $1500 per annum; all *sub-masters* in the Grammar Schools $1000, all *ushers* $800, all *Head Assistants* $400, and all other assistants $300 each. The Teachers of all *Primary Schools* receive each $300 per annum, with $25 extra allowance for the care of their rooms. The *Teachers of Music* receive $100 per annum for services and the use of a pianoforte."*

Not less striking is the third great feature of New England, inherited from the Pilgrim Fathers—the spirit of earnest religious inquiry. Originally they were not tolerant; "their intolerance of other sects has been reprobated as an inconsistency, and as violating the very rights of conscience for which they emigrated," says Josiah Quincy. "The inconsistency, if it exist," he continues, "is altogether constructive, and the charge proceeds on a false assumption. The *necessity* of the policy, considered in connection with their great design of independence, is apparent. They had abandoned house and home, had sacrificed the comforts of kindred and cultivated life, had dared the danger of the sea, and were then bearing the still more appalling terrors of the wilderness; for what? To acquire liberty for all sorts of consciences? Not so; but to vindicate and maintain the liberty of their own consciences. They did not cross the Atlantic on a crusade in behalf of

* The Public Schools of Boston, by Isaac J. Shepard.

the rights of mankind in general, but in support of their own rights and liberties. Tolerate! Tolerate whom? The legate of the Roman Pontiff, or the Emissary of Charles the First and Archbishop Laud? How consummate would have been their folly and madness, to have fled into the wilderness to escape the horrible persecutions of those hierarchies, and at once have admitted into the bosom of their society men brandishing, and ready to apply, the very flames and fetters from which they had fled! Those who are disposed to condemn them on this account, neither realize the necessities of their condition, nor the prevailing character of the times. Under the stern discipline of Elizabeth and James, the stupid bigotry of the First Charles, and the spiritual pride of Archbishop Laud, the spirit of the English hierarchy was very different from that which it assumed, when, after having been tamed and humanized under the wholesome discipline of Cromwell and his Commonwealth, it yielded itself to the mild influence of the principles of 1688, and to the liberal spirit of Tillotson."

The eloquent orator seems to forget that the Pilgrim Fathers are not condemned for taking necessary precautions against proselytizing Romanist and bigoted Episcopalians, but for not sympathizing with earnest piety like their own, only more free from formality of priestly government. They drove Roger Williams, the patriarch of Rhode Island, into exile, and went even so far as to hang Quakers.

But two centuries have passed since that time, and the principle of religious investigation has borne its fruits in the most extensive toleration of opinions in Massachusetts. Whenever an election takes place, and all the political principles of a candidate, and all the acts of his private and public life become the object of party discussion, no one ever asks what is his religious creed. The Church is in no connection with the State.

To give a notion of the condition of the church in Massachusetts, I mention here only that in Boston, which is a fair representative of this State, there are nineteen Congregational Unitarian churches, all of Puritanic origin. Ralph Waldo Emerson was successor in office of Increase and Cotton Mather, the witch-burners. The Orthodox Congregationalists have twelve churches; the Congregationalists two; the Baptists thirteen; the Methodists eleven; the Episcopalians ten; the Roman Catholics nine; the Universalists seven. The Lutherans, the German Protestants, the Presbyterians, the Quakers, the Freewill Baptists, the Second Adventists, the Swedenborgians and the "Christians," have each one place of worship. To the Seamen's Church a reading-room is attached; to the Warren Street Chapel, also, schools, a garden, and a cabinet of natural history. Occasional meetings of a social and instructive character are added, with an annual excursion to the country, and other means of rational enjoyment; it is the church of the young. Religion is here not an institution of the State, it is really the link between man and his Creator, varying in its forms, according to the difference of the aspirations of the soul, but all based on the spirit of the Scriptures.

CHAPTER VI.

BOSTON.

I. SITE OF THE CITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS.

Boston has a most advantageous site: on three hills protruding into the sea, and connected with the mainland by a narrow neck. The heights command the water as well as the land; the neck was easily fortified; the harbor, offering anchorage for a large fleet, is guarded by a series of islands; and the channels between them, difficult to navigate without a pilot, offer protection against an attack by sea. Such a place, supplied with good water, early attracted the notice of the first settlers, and from Salem and Charlestown they assembled to transfer the head of the new commonwealth to the trimountain peninsula, and gave it the name of Boston. At this time, William Blackstone, an English clergyman, resided here in a small cottage; as the original owner of the place, he had called the attention of the settlers to the point; but when the Pilgrims established themselves here, and urged him to join one of the churches, he said, "I came from England because I did not like the *Lords Bishops;* but I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the *Lords Brethren.*" He, therefore, sold his right to the peninsula for thirty pounds sterling, and removed from among the colonists to live independently amongst his books, for he possessed a library of nearly two hundred volumes, at that time (1632)

a rather large number for America. It seems that the spirit of the first proprietor of Boston has not yet departed with him from this spot; we still find here many such independent men, who, surrounded by the treasures of literature, oppose the Lords Brethren and the Lords Bishops, civil as well as religious.

Boston and its society has a peculiar character, different from all other cities of the world. It is the only one where knowledge and scholarship have the lead of the society. A distinguished author, an eminent professor, an eloquent preacher, are socially equals of the money aristocracy, which maintains its position only by its liberality towards literary institutions. The bankers and money kings pride themselves in being connected, by family-ties, with the aristocracy of intellect. Boston is, therefore, for America what the court of Weimar once was for Germany—the centre of literature and science. But there, it was only the generous liberality of one prince which drew together the sages and poets of Germany into one brilliant constellation, which sank with his life; here, it is the spirit of the people—public opinion, and the manners and customs of the city, which encourage the development of talent, by assigning to it the most honored position, without fettering it by gratitude to one individual, and transforming the scientific men into flattering courtiers. They need not here cook their meal at the fire of their genius.

As to the charitable institutions, again, no city in the world can boast of so many. We have here—I mention only some of them—a society for the religious and moral instruction of the poor, a female asylum, asylum for indigent boys, for female orphans, for blind persons, for the insane; a refuge for penitent females; a society for the fatherless and widows; others for the relief of the distressed; societies of the needle-women's friends, of the seamen's

friends; an Episcopal charitable, a British charitable, an Irish charitable, a Massachusetts charitable, a Massachusetts humane, a prison discipline society; the Howard Benevolent Society, and many other institutions of the same kind; hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries. There is, besides, a public establishment, called the *Ministry at Large*, the object of which is to inquire into all descriptions of destitution, and to provide the necessary alleviation. The words of Increase Mather: "*For charity this town has not many equals on the face of the earth*," are still as true as they were in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Yet all this liberality does not exclude the worship of the "almighty dollar." Boston is a great commercial city, less enterprising, perhaps, than New York, but also less exposed to sudden reverses. Nature has denied to Massachusetts the great advantage of a water communication with the Western lakes, by which New York has secured for itself the lion's share of American commerce. But as canals were unsuitable for New England, Massachusetts has availed herself of the great invention of Stephenson, and has covered her territory with a net of railroads, radiating from Boston, and surpassing in extent every similar system in any State of the Union. Boston capital has given a stimulus to manufactural industry, and has established in the State mills and factories competing with those of England.

The great money interest is here, as every where in the United States, predominantly Whiggish and conservative. The rich capitalists of Boston look, besides, with a kind of piety on Old England. They are proud of their English descent, they are in continual intercourse with the merchants of England; English opinions are received by them as authorities more than in any other part of America, and an English title is a better introduction in those circles than any American merit or American reputation. Though

the United States have asserted their political independence of the mother country, they yet remained dependent upon the "old country" in matters of taste and literary judgment. America has not yet the moral courage to establish the reputation of an author or an artist without the sanction of England. English reprints are the principal literary food of the people. But no where is the moral dependence on England more prominent, than with the Boston Conservative Whigs. It is here that the English have their truest friends, who proved it in 1812, when they exerted themselves to the utmost, though unsuccessfully, to prevent, and then to stop the war. "While they excel in commercial enterprise and in manufacturing industry," says a distinguished English author, "they are pre-eminent in scientific and literary attainment. Of all people on earth they are the most like the English, as they are also the most attached to them."

In one respect Boston is deficient, as is America in general; I mean in respect to art. The feeling for the beautiful is not yet developed so far as to bring collections of objects of art into the number of the necessaries of life for the wealthy. Like the great bulk of the manufacturers of England, the Bostonians admire only skill and costliness; and do not yet appreciate taste and beauty. But this is natural: if we watch the development of human faculties in children, we find that their attention is first directed to the *strange*, *curious*, and *interesting*. Collections of foreign animals and plants act upon their imagination and excite their inquisitiveness more than any thing else. Travels in foreign countries, with a climate and vegetation different from theirs, and natural history, captivate them above all. In the next phasis of their intellectual progress, they admire difficulties surmounted by human skill; the *artificial* attracts their attention even in works of art. They have no eye for the beautiful, but only for the pro-

cess by which it has been produced; if they had to choose between a sculpture of the Parthenon and the veiled marble statue of Monti, between an original of Raphael and a copy of it in mosaic which has cost five years of labor, they take the latter. In the next phasis they appreciate nicety and elegance, and only the full systematic development of their faculties awakens in them the feeling for the *grand* and for the *beautiful*. Nations pursue the same course. Collections of stuffed and living animals, equestrian feats, rope-dancing and jugglers, living monsters of every kind, still amuse Indian princes, and are as highly estimated by their courts, as they were prized in the middle ages in Europe, and as they are still sure to attract the crowds of European capitals. Almost all the museums of Europe grew out from collections of natural history; artificial curiosities were next added to them, microscopical performances of artists and tasks of patience. Then only galleries of paintings and sculptures were formed; by and by, their connection with the curiosities was severed, and monuments appreciated, not by the material labor which they cost, not by their rarity, the costliness of material or their remote age, but by the spirit which pervades them, and which they transmit to the soul of those who behold them. The Americans in general have not yet reached this phasis of development, but there is no reason to think that they never will attain it. When I was speaking about this matter with Mr. Ticknor, this eminent scholar mentioned, as a parallel case, that at the time when he began to apply himself to the study of Greek in 1812, it was with great difficulty that he got a copy of Æschylus and Thucydides in Boston. "But, *now*," he said, "we have at least twenty private libraries here, which contain all the Greek classics. We had first to turn our attention to the necessary and to the useful, but now we care also for the embellishment of life."

II. SOCIETY OF BOSTON.

(From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.)

We had scarcely arrived at the elegant Revere House, where the Massachusetts Legislature had provided us with sumptuous apartments, when Dr. and Mrs. Howe, our excellent friend, whom we had known for many years, came to greet us. The doctor had, in his younger years, taken part in the Greek struggle of independence as a zealous Philhellen; he afterwards became renowned as the philanthropic teacher of the blind, and has founded by his exertions the magnificent institution for them, which still occupies his time. His education of Laura Bridgeman, who is deaf, dumb, and blind, is a proof how genius can invent, not only machines for saving labor, but also means for instruction, even for those hapless beings to whom nature has blocked up nearly all the ways of external impression. Laura Bridgeman could neither hear, nor see, nor speak; it was by the sense of touch only that she was put into communication with the external world, that she learned to think, to understand, to read and to write. Doctor Howe now bestows his care on idiots, likewise to rouse in them the divine spark, buried in their defective physical constitution; and his efforts are, in this instance, too, attended with success. Though he is a man of eminent talent and keen observation, it is yet not to his abilities alone that we can trace the blessed results of his labors. Skill, experience, knowledge, suffice for brilliant success, but the earnest faith in the divine origin of human nature, and the deepest sympathy with human misery, can alone impart that devotedness to the exhausting task which characterizes Dr. Howe and truly makes him the regenerator of many a child which, without him, would not only be lost for

the world without, but would likewise remain blind to the light within, which brightens its dreary pilgrimage on this earth, and sheds brilliancy over the path which opens into a better world.

Mrs. Howe, the lovely wife of this distinguished man, combines the genuine simplicity of an original mind with striking social qualities, with deep thought, and sparkling imagination, elegance of manners, and warmth of feeling. Their house at the extremity of Boston, on the sea-shore, with a choice library, some good Italian paintings, a few modern marble busts, and some pieces of ancient carved oak furniture, has a marked individuality. It is not set up to look stylish, the pictures are not bought by the yard to fill the walls, nor the books to fill the shelves. During our stay in Boston, we spent here the most delightful hours. Here, too, we made the acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Longfellow.

The great German poet, Schiller, says:—

"In der Dichtkuns allein a macht das gefess den gehals."

(In poetry alone the form gives the value.) This view may be incomplete, but it is that which characterizes the works of Longfellow. They are finished and refined in every detail; harmony surrounds them; they are the expression of classical taste, to which every thing misshaped is repulsive; and if Buffon's words, "The style is the man," can be applied justly to any author, it is to the minstrel of Evangeline and the Golden Legend. His conversation and his manners bear the same stamp, as his whole appearance, that of natural nobility. With his wife, a lady of Junonian beauty and the kindest heart, he lives close to Boston, in Cambridge, in the spacious house which once was the headquarters of General Washington. It is now embellished by all the comfort which wealth and elegance can bestow.

Not far from hence lives Mr. Agassiz, the celebrated geologist, of world-wide reputation, who has left Europe, with all the attractions which the Old World offers to renowned scholars, in order to carry to the New World the love of Natural History, and to transplant the science which he illustrates to a virgin soil. We observed to him that it must be painful for a man, who in Europe was surrounded by all the facilities for observation, and who could there work and combine the results of the investigations of many others occupied in the same line, to be in some way excluded from the benefits of co-operation,—as not even all the scientific publications find their way across the ocean. But the discoverer of the theory of glaciers told us that he is most satisfied with his position,—he might have acquired greater renown in Europe, but he certainly is more useful in America; for, though he loses precious time in details, which in Europe others would work out for him, he originates here a school of naturalists who will not fail to advance the science. He is now engaged in microscopic researches on the Infusoria, and in observations on the metamorphoses of animal life. The tadpole and the caterpillar are not the only instances of those transformations; and one of the last discoveries of Mr. Agassiz shows that several species of the Infusoria are nothing else than the embryos of molluscas. Embryolizing has become by this discovery a chief object of his attention. But whether he speaks on the recent coral formation of Florida and of the fossil corals which were heaved up in the Jura range, or whether it is the transformation of the crabs and molluscas, he always gives to science that lively interest and practical bearing, which are sure to captivate the hearer. By his energetic activity he finds time also for the general interest of humanity, and especially for the important question of education in regard to University reform.

Professor Felton, who brings the sublime beauty of

Greek and Roman poetry, by his popular lectures, within the reach of the public at large, Dr. Gray the botanist, and Jared Sparks, the learned biographer of Franklin and Washington, and President of Howard College, through the close vicinity of Cambridge to the society of Boston, belong to that rare circle of intellectual notabilities, in which we meet Mr. Ticknor, the accomplished historian of Spanish literature; Prescott, of the Conquest of Mexico and Peru; Everett, the well-known Ambassador at London, who has lately become Secretary of State; Dr. Warren, the celebrated physician, and proprietor of a remarkable collection of fossils; and others, whose personal acquaintance we have not made.

In London or in Paris many more celebrated men of science may be found; but these capitals are of such immense extent, and so many different interests divide and split people into sets and coteries, that the literary and scientific element is entirely diluted: whilst in Boston it forms one of the principal features of society. Love of science is inherent in New England; the Whig principle, that knowledge is the best safeguard of freedom, more so than standing armies; that, therefore, every citizen—whether childless, or blessed with many children—must contribute to public education; that the Common Schools must be free to every child, and that the State must afford the greatest facility for higher education, prevails here generally, even amongst the Democrats. In other States they favor rather the voluntary principle of education; establishing the schools by public money, but endeavoring to make them self-supporting by the fees of the students. They take the education of the children to be the duty of the parents, not of the citizens at large. It is through schools and instruction that Massachusetts strives against crime and oppression; and, in the regular expenditure of this State, public education has the prominent place, which in Europe

is given to the army and navy estimate. The result of this spirit is visible every where. New England, and especially Massachusetts, furnishes teachers to nearly three-fourths of all the schools of the United States. The general instruction diffused through the people, gives to the Yankees this peculiar aptitude for every thing. They are, in turn, farmers and mechanics, shopkeepers and lecturers, engineers and clergymen, merchants and statesmen. Alphonse Karr, the French essayist and novel-writer, has attacked Democratic institutions, on the plea that if talent alone gets a place in society and in Government, no one will remain in the humbler situation of a mechanic, and all inventive genius will rush to the political career, much to the detriment of politics and industry. He feared that expansive views would no longer be formed amongst statesmen, and that stagnation would prevail in all mechanic pursuits. Poor Alphonse Karr thought, really, that it is only the aristocratic spirit of England which prevents Messrs. Moses & Son from becoming Chancellors of the Exchequer! He should come here to Boston: he would find that a shopkeeper has become Governor; a cobbler President of the Senate, and a cotton-boy Speaker of the House; yet he would find with them, not only the same good manners which he thinks the exclusive inheritance of aristocracy, but at the same time an elevation of mind and nobility of sentiment, straightforward honesty and devotion to the cause of humanity, which he does not find now either in the Chaussée de Antin or the Faubourg St. Germain. And yet, the grocery shops lack no man of business; Massachusetts supplies shoes to all the South, and in Lowell the mills have never been stopped for want of workers. The Frenchman would likewise find talent combined with the most different occupations, and intellectual accomplishment with the most various pursuits; and not only with men, but likewise with ladies, whom

manifold duties do not prevent from not only adorning society by their charms, but aiding and enriching it also by their acquirements.

We spent three weeks in Boston, amidst a society so varied in attractions that I found more time to enjoy than to record our enjoyments. In the first days of our stay we had an evening party at Mr. and Mrs. Loring's, where we became acquainted with the numerous circle of their relatives, the Putnams, Lowells, Grays, Peabodys, Jacksons, —all names of literay reputation. The venerable Mr. Quincy was also here, the posthumous son of the great Josiah Quincy, the patriot whose writings and personal influence directed the minds of his countrymen to political independence. The present Josiah Quincy is the inheritor of the spirit of his father. His age—he was born in 1774 —has not broken his faculties nor cooled his enthusiasm. He was the second Mayor of Boston, and, like his predecessor, Mr. Phillips, he administered the new form of city government with a prudence and vigor which reconciled the population with the representative city government, introduced by the Legislature, instead of the primary meetings. In the Quincy Market, established through his energies, and through the direction he gave to the enterprise of the city, he has connected his memory with one of the most splendid improvements of Boston. For a long series of years he had been the President of Harvard College, and is now honored in Boston as the patriarch of the city.

Several of our days were wholly occupied by calls we received. Everybody seemed interested in our cause and in our lot. Of the New England coldness and reserve, so often mentioned in the South, we found here no trace; yet in one respect society differs much from that of the trans-Chesapeake States,—the prejudice which regards duelling as a mode of re-establishing a questioned reputation, does not exist here. One of the greatest statesmen of Massachu-

setts, when a chivalrous Southerner, who deemed himself insulted by some expression on slavery, challenged him to fight a duel as a gentleman, is said to have replied coolly: that his adversary was mistaken in supposing him to be a gentleman; this title, coupled with the duty of duelling, belonged to monarchies, not to democratic republics.

Of our new acquaintances none proved more affectionate, and actively kind to us, than Mrs. Hillard. She met us not as strangers, but as friends, whose fortunes she had long watched with anxious sympathy. One of those thoroughly benevolent natures, void of all selfishness, who ever seem to please themselves only when they confer benefits on others; with the modest timidity of one who claims neither attention nor thanks, she unites the energy which rarely fails to carry its ends. The deep affections of her disposition, not being concentrated by maternal cares (for she is childless), expand in sunny kindness on every one whom she can assist or oblige. She enjoys the happiness of her friends as warmly as she sympathizes with their sorrows; and every one is to her eminently a friend, who is oppressed, or who strives against injustice.

We spent a pleasant morning at Mr. R. Winthrop's, the descendant of the celebrated first Governor of Massachusetts. He is one of the chief leaders and most important statesmen of the Whig party in this State, and is more English in his manners and turn of mind than most of the Bostonians; in his house we almost forgot that we had crossed the ocean. We spoke about the claims of the different nationalities in the United States, and Mr. Winthrop justly remarked that the Americans are eminently a mixed people, and that it is ridiculous here to make national distinctions in regard to the white population. He himself, for example, who surely must be taken for the type of a New Englander, is yet by his maternal ancestors also of French and of Irish descent.

We dined at Mr. Prescott's. Everything in his abode reminded me of his occupations. In the hall there is a portrait of Cortez; Spanish princes, queens and knights meet our eyes on the walls, and a rich historical library, containing the works on Spain and her possessions in the sixteenth century, with a large collection of manuscripts of that period, fill his study. Mr. Prescott was, by the natural weakness of his eyes, and perhaps likewise by the amiable mildness of his temper, prevented from taking an active part in politics, or from becoming a regular business-man. He devoted his time to literature; and parting from the Spanish conquest of Mexico and of Peru, his researches led him to the history of the splendid reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. He is now occupied on that of Philip II. It is a gigantic task, for the history of Spain under that king is also a history of Protestantism in Germany, of independence in the Netherlands, of liberty in England, of the struggle between the power of the crown and the local institutions in France and in Spain; a drama of which we ourselves have not yet witnessed the last act. The author who will accomplish this task adequate to the grand subject, will really be "*a prophet turned backwards*," as A. W. Schlegel has termed the true historian.

A family relic in the dining-room of Mr. Prescott had a peculiar interest for me, as an evidence of the impartial way in which Bostonians look upon their revolution. Two swords, crossing one another on the wall, are those of the grandfather of Mr. Prescott and of the grandfather of his wife, both officers in the battle of Bunker Hill,—the one in the American, the other in the English ranks. Here, as well as in the house of Mr. Winthrop, we saw that democratic institutions do not interfere with a just family pride, which prizes the merits of the ancestors and stimulates the descendants to emulation.

We admired at Mr. Ticknor's his most extensive Span-

ish library, which even in Spain has scarcely an equal for completeness. It is worth notice, that long before any party in the United States dreamt of an invasion of Mexico, two of the most eminent scholars of Boston had devoted their attention to the history and literature of that realm, turning the attention of their countrymen towards those parts which now seem destined to become their virtual inheritance.

The largest private library in Boston is that of Mr. Everett, in whose house the Scientific Society holds its regular meetings. The door of the library is masked, as in the Athenæum of London, with titles of unwritten or lost books, in a way which shows the feelings of Mr. Everett. We see here, for instance, The Art of Government, by Louis Bonaparte, in five volumes—viz.: Artillery, Infantry, Cavalry, Police, and Clergy.

III. IMPRESSIONS OF BOSTON.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.*)

Governor Boutwell, Amasa Walker, the Secretary of State, and Nathaniel Bishop, the Inspector of Schools, with the most amiable complacency, afforded us all the means of getting insight into the working of the school system, and of the moral condition of the working-people. The State is most anxious to provide for the wants of them all, yet the great tide of immigration of late years has raised many difficulties. According to the statistical accounts, there were, in 1849, 24,892 paupers in Massachusetts, and 41 per cent. of them were foreigners. In the city of Boston there are about 1,500 vagabond children between the ages of 6 and 16 years, who, from neglect and bad habits, were unfit to enter the public schools; and, upon an official inquiry, it was found that 90 per cent. of them were foreigners. The population of the

city, not including Charlestown, which is a different municipality, in 1850, was 138,788; 45 per cent. of these are foreigners, the greatest part of them having arrived in the last twenty years. The Boston society for the prevention of pauperism, has received, during the last five years, applications for employment from 15,697 females, of whom 96 per cent. were foreigners, and from 8,602 male applicants, of whom 58 per cent. belonged to this class. More than three-fourths of all the arrests by the night-watch and police at Boston, and nearly three-fourths of all commitments to the county jail, and of the cases before the police and municipal courts, were foreigners. In the Boston Dispensary, 88 per cent. of the cases are those of foreigners; in the alms-house, 97 per cent. The people of Massachusetts complain that some poor-houses in England have been emptied, and their inmates transported to Massachusetts, and that crime, pauperism, and ignorance, decreasing among the Americans, are imported from Europe. Yet the legislative committee, in their able report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health, does not suggest political measures to discourage the immigration, but recommends that efforts be made to elevate the sanitary and social condition of foreigners, and to promote amongst them habits of cleanliness and better mode of living. It is really strange that many of the immigrants cluster in the seaport cities, where they rarely can better their fortunes, instead of proceeding westward, where their labor is required and remunerated. In Indiana, the legislature gives them the citizenship of the State after a residence of one year; they have every inducement to settle in Minnesota; yet many of them have lost their energies under European oppression, and remain a burden to society, even in America, where labor is well paid and talent is appreciated.

The laws of Massachusetts give perfect equality to the

colored people. They are here full citizens; nevertheless, socially, even here, they cannot become equals of the whites. In some respects they themselves are the cause of it. We were told that one of them was returned to the House of Reprensentatives in the State; but when elected by his fellow-citizens, he had not the moral courage to accept the trust. There is now a colored lawyer in Boston whose talent has overcome the prejudices against his race, to a certain degree; yet when he came to a public concert in the Melodeon, he was refused admittance to the hall.

The feeling against the Roman Catholics has much subsided here in recent times. A convent would not now be burnt by the mob, as it was 20 years ago. An intelligent gentleman with whom I spoke on this subject, told me that this turn in public opinion was entirely owing to toleration, and not to an approach to the Roman Catholic dogma; conversions were rare, and could almost always be traced to disappointment in love or ambition. Old maids sometimes make themselves nuns, and unsuccessful literary men turn disciples of the Jesuits.

An interesting instance of mesmerism was related to us by Dr. Howe. A plaster cast of Laura Bridgeman was brought to the Institution of the Blind. One of the pupils deprived of her sight by amaurosis, began to cry, and said: "Laura is dead, I *see* her all white."

Amongst the schools which I visited, one was exclusively destined for colored children. I found only seven of them assembled in the spacious room. Their quadroon teacher told me that they generally find some excuse to stay at home. Those present looked lazy little fellows, sucking their fingers and indolently lounging about; they answered questions in geography and arithmetic readily enough, but obviously found it hard work to think. The best part of their exhibition was the clear and emphatic song which they performed in a chorus. As the gypsies

in Hungary, they seem to have a peculiar talent for music. I asked whether it would not be better to instruct them among white children, where emulation would be more stimulating; but the answer was that, in general, they do not reap much benefit from it; there are white schools to which they are admitted, but as their imagination prevails far more over their understanding than with the white children, they require a different training.

Returning one evening from South Boston, accompanied by Mr. Hillard, an eminent lawyer, we saw the sky illumined by a bright blaze. The firemen immediately rushed to their battle-field. We understood that here in Boston they are not volunteers, but a regularly paid and officered police establishment. The Bostonians think that in large cities, the volunteer system engenders rows and fosters disorderly habits. The electric telegraph has here been applied, in a most ingenious way, to alarm signals, which, from a central point in the town, convey in an instant the notice of fire to the headquarters of the companies required for assistance. The fire was extinguished before we reached the hotel; the night was so dark that we had difficulty to find our way, the gas-lamps were not lighted up, because it was full-moon time; but we were not benefited by it, as the sky was covered, and we had to lament the thriftiness of the city administration.

The most glorious recollections of the history of Boston are connected with Faneuil Hall, a large building bequeathed to the city by Peter Faneuil, in 1740. The large hall was always the principal meeting place of the Bostonians on all political occasions. It was illustrated by the eloquence of Otis and Quincy, and Hancock and the Adamses, during the Revolution. Americans therefore call this hall "the cradle of liberty." They have decorated the walls with the portraits of their illustrious ancestors, and all the great orators and statesmen of the Union feel honored to ad-

dress the public in this place. Every generation adds a new glory to the spot; it is to the people of New England what Independence Hall is to Philadelphia. It is here that the prizes for the pupils of the free-schools are annually awarded, in order to impress the children early with the memory of the great men who achieved American liberty, and with the value of instruction, which grants them the privilege to appear and speak amidst the same walls which re-echoed the accents of the powerful orators. It is the greatest evidence how highly Massachusetts prizes instruction.

Professor Felton mentioned that the number of ladies who offered themselves as teachers was considerable in Boston, and that many of them were remarkable for their acquirements in Greek, Latin and Mathematics. This is certainly creditable for the talents and perseverance of the New England ladies; yet I think that influence on children depends more on what the teachers *are* than what they *teach*. Education comprises a larger field than instruction; it is not only the intellect, but likewise the character of the child which is to be formed; and here in New England attention is perhaps too exclusively devoted to the development of understanding—though I must confess, that I have not yet met anywhere with a better general school system. But as New Englanders care more for the education of their children than any other people, I should wish to call their attention to the way in which the children of the East are brought up: it is not by punishment or reward, and much less by reasoning with them, but by manners, by example, and by reverence towards the teachers, whom they are accustomed to regard as their spiritual fathers. According to the Mussulman law, the tutor is the heir of the pupil in preference to the uncle and cousin. In the East, people have not yet forgotten the last aim of education. It is not to fill the mind with notions, but to develop the power of controlling the pas-

sions, and of ruling the appetites by moral feelings. Obedience and reverence are therefore developed in the children. They are not boisterous, because all those who surround them are decorous in their habits; the manners, rooted in religion, prevent them to give vent to their passions. You may find ignorance in the East, but no vulgarity.

IV. EXCURSIONS FROM BOSTON, CHARLESTOWN, BUNKER HILL, CAMBRIDGE, MOUNT AUBURN, FRESH POND, ROXBURY, LOWELL, LYNN, SALEM, PLYMOUTH ROCK.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.*)

In the immediate neighborhood of Boston, at the same distance as the suburbs East and South Boston, are the cities of Charlestown, Cambridge, East and West Roxbury. Politically they have their own municipalities, but geographically and socially, they form parts of the city. Charlestown got its name from King Charles I., the prince under whose reign it was laid out, on a peninsula adjoining that of Boston. Charles Frothingham, the mayor of the city, a most valuable author on American history, had invited Kossuth to Bunker Hill, which lies within the boundaries of the city, the first great battle-field in the war of Independence. The English were apparently successful on the 17th of June, 1775: they carried the fortifications hastily raised by the patriots, but their loss was so serious, and the resistance they encountered so effective, that the spirit of the Americans was aroused by the defeat itself; they saw that patriotism was able to meet disciplined troops. Fifty years after the battle, General Lafayette laid the corner-stone of the monument which now adorns the hill. It is a mighty obelisk, above two hundred feet high, and affords from its windows one of the most magnificent panoramas over the rich cities and their lovely neighborhood.

Here, as well as in Faneuil Hall, and in Concord and Lexington, where the first shots were exchanged between the Americans and the English, and at Plymouth Rock, where the Pilgrim Fathers had first touched the shores of America, Kossuth was welcomed by the assembled people as the representative of principles connected with the memory of these places. The New Englanders were eager to couple his name with those of their patriarchs and heroes.

The first Tuesday in May is the day of the annual "Exhibition" in Harvard College, the University of Cambridge. The educational system is, in many respects, similar to that of London University. The institution of private lecturers (*Privat Docenten*) which prevents German Universities from stagnation, is not yet introduced here. The graduates in Germany have the right to deliver regular courses of lectures in the same sciences as the Professors. And, as in Germany no one who presents himself to take his degrees, is asked *where* he has been instructed, but only *what* he knows, it often happens that the halls of the lecturers are more crowded than those of the Professors. In this way the faculty of teaching is developed with those who devote themselves to education, before they have yet a regular appointment; talents have here opportunity to become known, and the Professors are compelled by the competition of younger intellectual powers to keep pace with the progress of science and the claims of the age.

The specimens of Greek, Latin, and English elocution, which we heard from the students, were very spirited and interesting, but I was struck that the majority of the undergraduates looked much more like sedate men, than like young scholars, in the expression of their countenances as well as in the gravity of their deportment.

Education is here not costly. The necessary expenses of an undergraduate, for one year, including instruction,

board and lodging, amount to little more than $200. There are several other establishments attached to Harvard College: a medical school, a law school, a theological school; an astronomical observatory, a botanical garden, and the Lawrence scientific school, erected by the munificence of Mr. Abbott Lawrence, who has founded also two new professorships, of Zoology and Geology, and of Engineering, the whole destined for the "acquisition, illustration, and dissemination of practical sciences." The library of the College, and the institutions connected with it, contain about 90,000 volumes.

From the "Exhibition" Kossuth proceeded to the house of the Rev. Charles Lowell, the senior of the Boston clergymen. We wished to express to this venerable man the feelings of gratitude towards his daughter, Mrs. Putnam, who so ably and nobly has defended the cause of Hungary against the aspersions of the North American Review. The interview with the old gentleman was deeply affecting. His frame, lately shaken by an attack of apoplexy, seemed to revive, and his clear voice vibrated with the enthusiasm of youth; he was proud of the tribute paid to the merit of his daughter by the man for whom he had so often raised his fervent prayers to Heaven. His second son, the sweet American poet, was with Mrs. Putnam in Europe; but we had the pleasure of spending an agreeable evening at the house of his eldest son, Mr. Charles Lowell, whose wife devotes her eminent talent to female education. Here we met Ralph Waldo Emerson, the original thinker, of a German philosophical turn of mind, more appreciated in America than in England; where originality of thought is little prized without transparent clearness of style. The Americans are less conservative in literature and language than the English; the originating power finds here disciples, and a new idea is not shunned, simply because it is new.

We repeatedly visited Cambridge, spending delightful hours with our amiable friends, in the families of Longfellow and Agassiz, Felton, Sparks, Carter, Anson, Burlingame, Palfrey, and the Lowells.

With Mr. and Mrs. Burlingame we drove from Cambridge to Mount Auburn, the celebrated cemetery of Boston. The coachman missed the way and carried us to the Fresh-Pond, a beautiful sheet of limpid water, which by the enterprise of the Bostonians has been turned into a mine of wealth. Its ice is gathered in winter in large ice-houses, and not only provides Boston and its neighborhood throughout the whole summer, but is also exported to the West India islands, to Mexico, to South America and East India. Fresh-Pond produces about eighty thousand tons of ice a year, of which Calcutta consumes about three thousand tons, and New Orleans about the same quantity.

Mount Auburn was the first experiment in the United States to combine an extensive burial-place with landscape gardening. The lovely height has been cleared of timber just sufficiently to raise some beautiful meadows, broken by shady groves, and to carry roads into the cool recesses of the original forest and to the clear waters flowing from the hill. Sepulchral monuments, not yet too dense, embellish the spot, which rises high above the din and buzz of the busy cities below, a fine and appropriate resting-place for the deceased. But the elegant iron rails, which divide the different small lots, are neither ornamental, nor even, according to my impression, reverential for the place. Exclusiveness little befits a cemetery; the idea of individual property, carried even into the realm of the dead, where no one can own more than he covers, has something unnaturally strange. We saw here the tomb of the great phrenologist Spurzheim; but there is another which interested me yet more, that of Charles T. Torrey, who died in the penitentiary of Maryland for having

assisted some slaves to escape. James Russel Lowell, the poet, sang at his grave:

Woe worth the hour when it is crime
To plead the poor dumb bondman's cause,
When all that makes the heart sublime,
The glorious throbs that conquer time,
Are traitors to our cruel laws!

He strove among God's suffering poor
One gleam of brotherhood to send;
The dungeon oped its hungry door
To give the truth one martyr more,
Then shut,—and here behold the end!

O, Mother State! when this was done,
No pitying throe thy bosom gave;
Silent thou saw'st the death-shroud spun,
And now thou givest to thy son
The stranger's charity,—a grave.

Roxbury is delightful to me, not only by its lovely rural site, but by our kind friends who reside there: Mrs. Minot, the niece of the amiable authoress, Miss Sedgwick, and the Misses Lowell, the generous daughters of the founder of the manufacturing city of Lowell, and of the Lowell Institution, which affords to the public in Boston yearly four courses of lectures of the most eminent scientific men, by granting to the lecturers a high pecuniary remuneration.

With Madame Kossuth, Mrs. Howe, and Mrs. Hopkins, we visited Lowell, the manufacturing city on the Merrimack. Founded in 1822, it has now a population of 33,000 inhabitants; 8274 unmarried females are occupied here in the mills; they work in the factories for a few years to save a dowry for themselves. The strictest morality is preserved by them; they all are most anxious to maintain the reputation of the Lowell girls, and expel from their community those who would stain their good name by

their conduct. Rows of large houses, comfortably fitted up, contain the lodgings where they live; they receive, on average, two dollars a week, clear of board. In 1849 they established a monthly journal amongst themselves, under the title: "*The New England Offering*, a magazine of industry written by females who live by their labor." We extract from it a passage written by one who herself was, ten years back, a mill-girl, and now describes the way in which they lived, and the fortunes of several of her companions:

* * * "Besides us factory people, there were two clergymen, a physician, an attorney, two firms in trade, mine host of the 'A—— Hotel,' and some six or eight artisans, and their families. Well, we mill-people were on the same ground with the clergyman, the lawyer, the merchant, the landlord, and the artisan. We not only gave the ministers their salaries, and the doctor his fees, but no sleigh-ride, pic-nic, May-walk, subscription, or singing-party, could be made up without us. Thus we were understood and respected; thus we respected ourselves, and lived a good and pleasant life there in that quiet, shady place. We met our agent, superintendent, and overseers at church, in the Bible-class, in society, and everywhere. They were considerate and kind, like brothers.

"I will show you what some of these young girls are now; and we will see if it is not well, that then, when the foundation was laying for the rest of 'the life here,' that kindness was shown them, that encouragements to cultivation and improvement were held out to them by liberal hands.

"That tall, pale girl in the opposite corner of our little room, laboring so intently over her four looms,—now she is the wife of a Congregationalist clergyman,—of him for whose education she was then toiling. She moves here and there in a large society, and people look up to her for

example, encouragement, and comfort. Not far from her, I remember a little girl with round, red cheeks, black flashing eyes, and nervous, but gentle, agreeable manner. I saw her name, some months ago, at the head of some pretty stanzas in the 'Offering.'

"Often a gay laugh went through our small room. It was A—'s. She always smiled, had a tall, graceful figure, a proud head, and when she walked, a firm, dignified step. Her husband became an officer in the army in Mexico. At her right worked her sister; very young, yet with a tall, bowed form, with the hectic of excitement or fatigue in her eye. She sang continually. When one passed her, one almost always heard a part of, 'There's nothing true but Heaven.' Her health failed at length. She was sad, we all were sad; when she left us she died. One who worked a long time on my left, and who is now a wife and mother, with her husband, is doing as much, perhaps, as any woman in the city of M——, to stamp the manners and morals of the pleasure-loving and fashionable part of the community.

"And thus I might go on. One girl, of timid, but graceful manner, who called often to see me, to talk about nature and poetry, was married 'all of a sudden,' to a good and wealthy gentleman of Boston. He fell regularly in love with her, one summer that he came to A——, ruralizing with Dr. M——. Two more are the wives of physicians, and have the training of daughters on their hands. Another, who was often by my side in the mill, in the long rambles by the river, and in my room in the still evenings,—from her home in a Southern city, whither she lately went a happy bride, sends 'sketches,' or 'tales,' or 'stanzas,' to the 'Lady's Book,' and the other magazines and papers at the North. Another is wife of one of the aldermen of ——, and has the wealth of three daughters, several houses in town, besides twelve thousand dol-

lars in the funds. Two others are the wives of factory proprietors, and are copied in the quiet manufacturing village where they have settled. All these, and many more of whom I think now, through means of their goodness, talent, wealth, fashion, one or all of these, have positions of no ordinary influence and responsibility."

There are now 325,500 spindles, and 9,906 looms in Lowell. Prints, sheetings, drillings, flannels and shirtings, from between No. 14 to 30, are made here; carpets, rugs, cotton cloth, broadcloth, cassimere, pantaloon stuffs, are manufactured in yards per week, 2,190,000 of cotton, 25,900 of wool, 15,000 of carpets, forty of rugs. 349,000 yards are printed, 9,515,000 dyed weekly, and 500,000 bleached per annum. The capital stock of the incorporated twelve companies amounts to $14,000,000, and the sums deposited in the saving institutions of Lowell amounted, on the 1st of November, 1850, to $812,598, from 5,224 depositors, principally operatives in the mills. 3,702 males are employed here, of whom 700 work in the machine-shop. The water constructions on the Merrimack, and on the Concord River, which provide the necessary power for the cotton-factories, for the machine-shop, and extensive powder, saw, and paper mills, not included in the above statement, are as picturesque as they are useful.

In Lynn, Salem and Plymouth, Massachusetts life presents a different though not less attractive feature. Lynn is the Stafford of New England, the great shoe workshop for a realm. Most of the boots and shoes of the South are manufactured here.

Salem, the only settlement in America, in the colonial time, which grew rich by the East India trade, has remained the city of seafarers. The Captains of the vessels have formed here an association for promoting geographical knowledge; they submit their diaries to a Committee, which extracts from them any valuable information for

the archives of the society. A museum of natural history, and of Eastern and South Sea curiosities, has been formed by the contributions of the members, showing how the New England spirit of gathering information pervades every class.

Salem got an unenviable notoriety in the colonial history, by the wholesale burning of witches. If the daughters of Salem have always been as handsome and charming as they are now, it is certainly difficult to conceive that they were taken for witches and not for fairies.

Plymouth, the spot where the Mayflower anchored, bringing to the New World that illustrious band of religious refugees which has become the nucleus of the Northern population of the United States, and has impressed the Americans with that earnestness of purpose, that indomitable perseverance and love of knowledge which so wonderfully raises them to power, is a hallowed place not only fer every citizen of the Union, but for every one who prizes civil and religious liberty. The relics of the Pilgrim Fathers are preserved in the Pilgrim Hall; the wooden chair of Carver, the sword of Miles Standish, the Bible of one of their companions, and some implements, such as poor emigrants take out to the wilderness, who do not seek comfort, but independence. At Plymouth it is the memory of the past which absorbs the attention and the interest of the visitor.

CHAPTER VII.

WESTERN NEW YORK AND THE NIAGARA FALLS.

I. FROM BOSTON TO THE NIAGARA.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary, May 20th.*)

EARLY in the morning we started from Boston. The hospitable city had become very dear to us; we left it as we leave an old friend, to whom, at parting, we rather say, "We trust to meet again," than "farewell." Governor Boutwell, Mr. Banks, Mr. Burlingame, and our excellent friend Mr. Hopkins, bade us affectionately adieu; General Wilson had tears in his eyes when he shook hands with Kossuth. Doctor and Mrs. Howe accompanied us to Worcester; we parted with regret and with gratitude.

At Springfield we stopped only for some moments to take a hasty breakfast, and rattled on in the railway cars to the beautiful Berkshire county, which forms the watershed between the Connecticut and the Hudson. At Chester we had to wait for another train, and took a walk through the village and over the fields. It is an attractive spot, with rustling waters, bushy hills, and neat wooden cottages. One of these struck me peculiarly by its rustic elegance; it had a gallery along the frontage, but instead of a commonplace imitation of Grecian columns, the projecting roof was apparently supported by unhewn stems of trees, artfully adapted to the style of the rural mansion.

We soon reached the highest point of the road, 1500 feet above Boston. At Pittsfield, where again dense crowds had assembled, and fifty muskets were offered to Kossuth, he addressed a hearty farewell to Massachusetts; and we went down to the valley of the Hudson. In the background we saw the bold lines of the light blue Catskills, and soon we beheld the smooth waters of the river, which forms the most important portion of the link between the Lakes and the Sea. A ferry-boat carried us to the opposite bank, where the people of Albany received Kossuth with such impetuosity that a part of the bridge broke down, and we had a narrow escape. Whilst the gentlemen underwent the honors and fatigues of an enthusiastically boisterous reception at the State House, I drove with Madame Kossuth to the hotel, which rises above a slope, with a magnificent meadow and verdant trees in front. Yesterday and to-day we took a ride through the streets, visited the neighborhood of the city with Mrs. Seward, and spent the evening with Miss Sedgwick, whose sweet niece had come with us from Massachusetts. There are few authors more popular in the United States amongst the large community of young persons, than Miss Sedgwick, and few ladies more beloved in the extensive circle of her friends, than she is. Whoever has the privilege of approaching her, is impressed with the benevolence and vivacity, the knowledge and simplicity which we find combined only in superior natures. We feel at once that she is as practical as she is refined, and that her sphere of charms and usefulness is not only at the desk, but in every abode she enters, whither she conveys the attractions of her mind, and the activity, so essentially womanly, which deems no occupation too petty, and no trouble too great, if productive of comfort and pleasure to others.

Albany is one of the most ancient original Dutch settlements in the State of New York, and is, in commercial

importance, only second to the groups of cities on the estuary of the Hudson. It is the celebrated Erie Canal, the great artery of the Northwest, connecting the Hudson with Lake Erie, over an extent more than three hundred and fifty miles, that has established the wealth of Albany and Buffalo, the great cities on each outlet. This canal is, in many respects, memorable, and connected with the political history of the State, and of the Whig party in the Union. Carried by the energies of Governor De Witt Clinton in the years 1817 to 1825, at a cost of about eight million dollars, it was the first great work of public utility constructed by a State. It had become a mine of wealth, not for the whole country along its banks only, and for New York City, which by it gained a natural monopoly of the Northwestern trade, but by the tolls on the canal, also for the State of New York. It yields a net revenue of three millions of dollars, which, according to the original regulations, are to be employed for paying off the canal debt, for the enlargement of the canal, and eventually, for public instruction. The scheme had, from the outset, been opposed by the Democrats, who are averse to any industrial undertaking by the State, and to a large State-income not proceeding from taxation. The complete success of Clinton's plan strengthened the Whigs, and is yet one of the proudest trophies of that party; in fact, it gave the impulse to other States, to contract foreign loans for internal improvements. In many instances, the sinister predictions of the Democrats, as to the failure of such extensive schemes, were but too soon fulfilled; many of the States proved unable to meet their engagements, and "repudiation" destroyed, for a series of years, the credit of America. But in the long run, the canals which connect the Lakes with the Ohio and the Mississippi, and the railroads between the East and the West, became productive; the resources of the States were developed by them, and the

payment of the interest was resumed. The Democrats, however, remain opposed to such improvements by the States. Under the last Whig administration of New York, a plan passed the Legislature to negotiate a new loan for the enlargement of the canal, which is now required by the enormous extension of the traffic on it. The Democrats impugned the constitutionality of the measure, though they did not deny its utility, and the Judges set aside the resolutions. The Democrats also lowered the canal-tolls, and made, in this way, even the gradual enlargement very difficult. But according to their views, the cheapness of transport is the principal aim to be attained for the benefit of the people at large. In this opposition to State-undertakings we see the same spirit with which they claim that the shareholders in joint-stock companies should be responsible to the whole extent of their property, in order to protect the community against the recklessness of schemers, whilst the protectionist Whigs cling to the existing law, by which the shareholders are not liable above the amount of their shares, and people have to protect themselves against frauds by their own good sense, and not by the wisdom of their legislators.

May 21st.—To-day I was very tired, and did not see much of the country. The railway on which we travelled, kept almost always along the canal from Albany to Buffalo. On one point, the canal, the high-road, and the railway, run close to one another through a narrow gap, and the immense commercial intercourse peoples all the three. I was told that the middle section of the canal has cost at the rate of $13,000 per mile, the Western $20,000, the Eastern $28,000. When the first scheme was brought forward in the beginning of the century, the idea of such an undertaking was deemed chimerical, and President Jefferson thought it a splendid project, that might be carried out a century hence. He lived to see it completed, and

declared that it exceeded even calculation, and that New York has anticipated by a full century the ordinary progress of improvement. The Americans are proud that the chief engineer of the canal, Mr. James Geddes, was a native of the United States, educated in America. He was a Kentuckian, but he had a decided repugnance to slavery, and, on this account, left his native State. In 1822, he became also the chief surveyor of the Ohio Canal, between Lake Erie and the Ohio. This new undertaking was a necessary consequence of the Erie Canal, and completes the link of unbroken water communication between New Orleans and New York.

The names of the cities which we passed to-day are rather strange. We went by Schenectady, Herkimer, Utica, Rome, Syracuse, Auburn, Geneva, Canandaigua, Rochester, Batavia and Attica, to Buffalo. What a curious mixture of Indian, Roman, and English geography! A Frenchman would say that these names are astonished to be grouped together. When we beheld the beautiful Seneca Lake, I of course thought that it owed its appellation to the same whim of the surveyor, who had given Greek and Roman names to the townships of Western New York; but in this instance I was mistaken. It is a pure Indian denomination, which it got from the Seneca tribe, one of the six nations of the Iroquois confederation.

II. NIAGARA FALLS.

May 22d.—This morning we embarked on a small steamer on Lake Erie. Buffalo, which in the last twenty-five years has grown uninterruptedly from the insignificance of a village to the importance of a great commercial city of 70,000 inhabitants, disappeared from sight, and we approached the Canadian shore, green, wooded, quiet and rural. We saw the ruins of Fort Erie, destroyed by the

Americans in 1814; we passed the little village of Waterloo, with its 300 inhabitants; we glided along Grand Island and many other little islands with which the stream is studded; expanding itself in some places to a width of several miles, and again becoming narrow in its course, and impetuous, always changing its features. It is the Proteus of rivers.

We were here just on the boundary between the United States and the English Empire. The one is a scene of golden dreams to Ireland's starving population and to the English paupers, victims of the unceasing battle of competition, who in the great Republic find a fair field for applying those energies which are not required in the Old World, and are fettered even in the English Colonies, where small tracts of land cannot be obtained, and squatting is prohibited. The other is the land of promise for the colored slaves of America, whither the power of their masters does not extend; the land of liberty which makes the bondman free if he touches the soil. Thus the unfortunate people of both countries look with longing to the opposite shores. We stopped at Chippewa, on the Canadian side, about two miles from the battle-field where General Scott won his first great victory. Whilst the Americans, who had come with us on the steamer, proceeded farther by railway, we set out on foot, directed by the roar of the water, over stiles and enclosures, through the dewy grass, relishing again the charms of Spring which we had enjoyed on the Mississippi, and which we liked to greet again in this Northern latitude. At last we beheld the Rapids.

For more than two miles, the river, obstructed by several small islands, rushes here with maddening fury over the rocky declivities, above a mile wide. It is an uninterrupted succession of thousands of cascades; the boisterous waves are boiling and whirling, and rising and falling,

and raging like the stormy ocean. Crowds of white gulls flutter around, as if deceived by this resemblance, and the unceasing cadence of the thundering Falls, which we could not yet see, struck our ear like the diapason in this majestic symphony of nature. A small house nearly at the edge of the water attracted our notice; we descended to it from the high bank, and found here a sulphur spring, from which inflammable gas issues so profusely that it burns brilliantly if approached with a light. Nevertheless, the spot is not yet made use of for a watering-place, though amidst the most magnificent scenery of the world. "The spring is on the wrong side of the water," said an American, when I expressed my astonishment at this lack of enterprise.

We went some hundred yards farther, and standing before the Horse-shoe fall, felt overwhelmed by its wild grandeur. A few paces farther, and we beheld the American cataract in its majestic beauty, with the rainbow-garland round its edge, and the rocks lit up by the light which the brilliant water reflects. Here I feel that the world is full of magnificence; it is the eternal embodiment of the word of God, and every letter of this word is again a world of magnificence and light, everlasting, ever moving, and ever breathing life and praise to the Creator.

We stay at the Clifton Hotel. From my window I see both the falls, which incessantly captivate my eye and my imagination. The American cataract connects itself in my mind with the classical art of antiquity, grand, solemn, symmetrical; whilst the Canadian falls have all the dazzling charms and the terrors of the romance of the middle ages.

May 23.—Greek mythology placed the seat of the gods on the sunny heights of Olympus. Apollo and the Muses live amidst the shady laurel-groves of Helicon: the Titans lie fettered in the nether world, where stern Pluto wields his sceptre, and to which the awful cavern of Tænarus

leads: Vulcan and the Cyclops work restlessly in the forge of Ætna. But the real palace, where Neptune, the tremendous shaker of the earth (Εννοσίραιος,) lived amid the sprightly chorus of Tritons and lovely Nereides, was unknown to the ancients. The gods of the sea swayed in the far West at the old Okeanos, who girds round the stronghold of the earth. Thither Thetis leads her god-like son Achilles,—there are the happy islands with their golden fruits, which the seafarer only beheld on the distant horizon, in the faint glittering light of the evening sky, when he ventured beyond the pillars of Hercules in the endless Atlantic. But the untiring restlessness of man led him to the remotest Thule, and the time even came when the prophecy of Seneca was fulfilled, and Thule no longer was the remotest on earth. And here in the farthest West man at last discovered the cool crystal palace of the god of the seas, whither he drives his sea-steeds in the heat of the summer with his belòved Amphitrite. The Niagara is the abode for the gods of the sea-depths. From the awful ocean they come through the silver floods of the St. Lawrence, through the blue expanse of the Ontario, up to the steep cliffs of the western terrace, where the new age has raised the cities of Louistown and Queenstown. One terrible shock of Neptune's trident here cleft the rocks; whereupon the waters of the four lakes rushed whirling down over the cool cave which the ruler of the depth had selected for his summer abode. As a glittering curtain woven of diamonds, almost transparent and yet impenetrable to every mortal eye, the waves plump from the level of the rocks into the abyss below, where width and depth are in perfect harmony, like the proportions of a Grecian temple with its column-forest of shiny marble. We hear in the melodious rushing of the floods the alluring lays of the Nereides, the bridal song of Amphitrite. The clarion of Triton thunders forth reply from the gulf; and

the delicate spray parting from the smooth and clear bosom of the lower waters, ever rises to the sky, like a light cloud of incense offered to the Gods of Heaven. And above, on the richly timbered table-land, there hasten merry Naiads, and vigorous river gods; here dancing with easy steps, there storming forth with roaring impetuosity; here gently winding through green islands, there raging over the rocks; restless to pour the tribute of their waters before the feet of the mighty god. The billows roll hurriedly on in the broad river-bed over the rough steps whirling towards the precipice, where a free leap carries them into the abyss. But one Naiad, frightened by the uproar, parted from the boisterous chorus, and her deep green waves glide through a rich meadow gently to the same goal. It must be the same Nymph who drew Hylas, the handsome youth, down into her charming waters. Who can resist her? Rustling on, she stretches her silver hands towards the thirsty wanderer, and bewilders him by terror and beauty; she invites him to the nuptials of Neptune and Amphitrite. Iris, the light-footed messenger of the gods, who spans her arch but for short hours above the buzz of men, has fixed here her permanent abode, and her glittering hue ever plays round the foaming flood a sparkling diadem, which Juno sends to the Queen of the Sea as her bridal offering. But below, at the entrance of the palace, the winds dwell and guard the gates, that no profane eye may desecrate the mysteries of the divine abode. Even the water-fowl, overtaken by sleep, or driven by curiosity too near to the abyss, are stunned and killed by the fall,—the sea-god forbids every mortal being the approach to his dwelling.

Higher up, separated by a forest-island from the mysterious palace of Neptune, a terrific sight opens to the view—the wild abode of old Okeanos and his daughters. Titanic terror reigns here, not Olympian beauty. In a

grand semicircle, the thundering masses of water are hurled over the dark cliffs into the fathomless chasm. The billows are rent to atoms by the mighty fall, and form a cloud of mist hovering over the stream, which is turned milk-white by the violence of the shock. Its thunder vibrates through the air, and the earth quivers all around, frightening away even the rattle-snake, which dares not to disturb the presence of the gods by its poisonous sight.

May 24th.—We have visited the Falls repeatedly. Every hour in the day lends them novel attractions by the changes of light and shade and by the varying currents of the air, which carry the spray in different directions, covering or unfolding the charms of the great sight. About half a mile above the Falls, the foaming river is divided by Goat Island into two mighty streams. The larger branch forms the Canadian falls, which corrode by the mass of their waters the lime-cliffs over which they are precipitated. Many years back they streamed down in the shape of a horse-shoe; but within the memory of men, the centre of the horse-shoe begins again to be moulded into an edge, showing the way in which the cataract has dug its own deep bed. From Queenstown, where the terrace of the upper table-land sinks rapidly down to the level of the plain of Lake Ontario, it has receded to the spot where it now astonishes the eye.

A slippery pathway leads from the Canadian side to a cave under the sheet of the water which leaps down from the overhanging rock. Mr. Pulszky visited it, but his trouble was scarcely repaid. A continuous storm rages here, and blinds the eye with the spray, whilst the ear is stunned by the roar of the rushing floods. Towards the American side the level of the bed of the cataract is a little higher; the impetus of the stream is here less strong, and several rocky islands rise from the rapids. A round stone tower is erected on one of them connected by a frail bridge

with Goat Island,—a fine point, from which we embrace with one glance the stormy rapids above and the majestic Falls below. It is an awful sight: the waters boil, and whirl, and roar as if each of the waves contained a fettered soul struggling to burst free; it bewilders me, and I turn to rest my eye on the smiling rainbow which sparkles over the abyss.

Goat Island is a lovely spot, secluded from the world by the rapids, which are boisterous as if whipped by a hurricane,—it is adorned with meadows and shady thickets, and the balmy air is always refreshed by the breath of the waters. Another branch of the river, clear and transparent, forms the central fall close to the American cataract; this branch, from the opposite side, seems to flow with equally distributed water from an unbroken horizontal rock. Here, indeed, we see that the cliffs are rent and shaped into several small curves; yet the general outline is even, and imparts the fall with calm grandeur. The American rapids are not less picturesque than the Canadian ones, but they turn saw-mills and flour-mills; a small industrial city rises on their banks, in the midst of fragrant fir-wood and the brilliant foliage of beeches and maple trees.

The cataract is not the only attraction of the Niagara. A few miles below it, the river is narrowed to scarcely more than one hundred yards, and turns suddenly at a right angle forming a whirlpool, around which the cliffs resemble a mighty amphitheatre lined here and there by centenary trees. All the way from the Falls to Queenstown the stream changes its aspect incessantly, often smooth as a lake and again tempestuous; here wide, there narrow, but everywhere grand and striking. No mountains rise above it, it flows in the same ravine through the table-land. The scenery contains but two great features: the waters and the rocks; yet both are mighty, and their dif-

ferent combination presents a magnificent succession of sublime and idyllic sites.

May 25th.—We paid a visit to the Indian village of the Tuscaroras, on the American side of the river. This tribe had been received as the sixth nation into the grand confederacy of the Iroquois, at the beginning of the last century. At that time the Six Nations were at the height of their power; their sovereignty was acknowledged by all the North-Western tribes along the lakes, the Ohio, and the Upper Mississippi. They were able to take the field with 2,500 warriors; the French and the English dreaded them as enemies, and sought their alliance. Now the confederacy is broken; the principal nation, the Mohawks, which gave them the war-chief, has gone over to the English colony; some Senecas dwell in the Western Indian territory, between Missouri and Texas; some of the Cayugas and Oneidas emigrated to the North-West, beyond the encroachments of the whites; the bulk of the nation got reserve-lands here on the Niagara, and in Cattaraugus and Alleghany counties, and the Onondagas remained near Syracuse, in their original seat, where their council-fire was lighted up for centuries back. There are persons who doubt that the number of the Indians has much decreased. They say that in 1677, before the accession of the Tuscaroras, the total of the Iroquois warriors was 2,150, according to the statement of Colonel Coursey, the agent of Virginia, who had to deal with them;—during the Revolutionary War, they had yet 1,800 in the field; and the whole population was estimated at 6,330 by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland in 1783. In the present day, 3,733 of them live in the State of New York, about 2,000 in Canada, and some hundreds in the Western Territory. Their number is therefore not much inferior to that in the palmy days of their power; they have positively increased in the last generation, since they cannot make war, and

the scalp has ceased to be the necessary trophy of every brave, without which he was not admitted to the council-fire. In the first times of the colony, 2,000 Indian warriors were of course a formidable army; yet this number could not have represented more than a population of about six or eight thousand red men. Now, in times of peace, we are astonished at their insignificance; and as it is in such contrast to their former power, we bewail their progressive extinction, which, *perhaps*, is only imaginary.

The village of the Tuscaroras is not a compact settlement. The huts of the Indians are scattered on thousands of acres, without plan or regularity. In the first we entered, we perceived a squaw embroidering cloth with beads. She took no notice of us; we endeavored to make her understand that we wished to buy some of her needle-work, but she remained silent, not as if she were indignant that we intruded, but altogether she seemed not to think us worthy of her attention in any way. Before the house stood a white carter, the "metayer" of the Indian; for the Indians do not work their fields, but rent them to the whites for the half of the produce, just as the Teutonic invaders of Italy did in ancient times, when they introduced the system of the "*meta*." We asked the man whether he could not serve us as interpreter, but he said that the squaw understood and spoke English whenever she found it convenient. We proceeded, and reached a comfortable-looking large dwelling. A tall man, with high cheek-bones, but with an entirely white face, accosted us in the yard with a loquacity and inquisitiveness uncommon even in America. He was a Yankee half-breed, who had married an Indian squaw, and appeared to be the wealthiest in the community. We stepped into his abode; there sat his maternal grandmother, nearly a hundred years old, gray-haired, with a countenance which looked petrified and impassible; but her

frame was not bent; she sat erect, like an Egyptian statue A broad-chested and broad-faced squaw now entered the room, with a sallow complexion and raven hair, a blanket fastened on her shoulders in the shape of a bag; in this perched a beautiful little boy, with brilliant dark eyes, curly jet hair, and a bright bronze complexion. He boldly confronted our looks, the proud spirit of his race glistened in his fine eyes. The next house, at some distance from this, belonged to a man of note. Amidst cornfields carefully enclosed, stood a bark wigwam used as a storehouse for Indian corn and vegetables, and near to it a cabin of planks rudely nailed together, and divided into two rooms. On a fire-place of the most primitive description,—in fact a shallow hole close to the wall,—I saw a fowl roasting on a wooden spit. In a corner of the window the old Indian was smoothing an axe-handle with pumice. He greeted us cordially, and satisfied our questions about his mode of life in broken English. He told us that he had been at Washington at the time when his tribe sold its title to the lands around with the reservation on which they lived; he too had signed the treaty as one of the chiefs. He had eighty acres enclosed, but did not work them himself. His daughter-in-law was diligently embroidering pin-cushions. When asked whether she had moccasins to sell, she shook her head; but after we had bought from her some trifling bead-work, and she saw the golden dollars, she went to her box and drew forth pantalets, and after we had bought them also, she proudly exhibited her gracefully embroidered petticoat, but with this she would not part, though obviously tempted by the glittering gold. Behind the hut, on the enclosure of the large meadow, sat a lad with bow and arrow. Though we beckoned to him, he did not come; but when the old Indian hailed him, he immediately approached. Requested to show his skill by shooting at an aim, he shot two arrows in quick succession; they

fell at a considerable distance, one across the other on the ground. The old man said that they were not accustomed to shoot at a mark, only at birds and deer. After shaking hands with our host, we stepped into our carriage, and when we turned round the fence, a bird, killed by an arrow, was flung into my lap. We looked up and met the proud and sulky glance of the young Indian, who instantly disappeared. At a little distance, a middle-aged, ugly, square-faced fellow, his head adorned with some chicken feathers twisted into a crown, ran after our carriage, inviting us to visit him. He had heard that we bought Indian curiosities, and he too was anxious to get some money. He was a specimen of an Indian demoralized by the vices of civilization. For a few cents he raised the war-whoop, danced around the fire, and sold his club to us. When in the evening we came back to the hotel, we found some bead-work left there for Kossuth by the sullen Indian squaw, the first we had called at. When she had understood from the neighbors who had been her visitor, she brought as a present what she would not sell. At the shops close to Clifton House, we purchased some Indian needle-work, embroidery on bark and on deerskin with dyed porcupine quills, and on velvet and cloth with beads of various colors. How tastefully they are wrought! the same pattern is never repeated; the ornaments are poetically conceived, and executed with a richness of imagination, which our manufacturers lack, accustomed as they are to reproduce a thousand times the same design. To the children of the Great Spirit the flowers, the birds, and the trees speak a language which they transcribe in the charming figures, more pleasing to our eye than any artificial invention.

May 26th.—Of all the English colonies, the Canadas are, at present, the most comfortably off. The rebellion of 1837 had satisfactory results. It was soon put down, but

the mother country knew she was in the wrong, and the colonial office has, since that time, abstained from meddling too much in the affairs of the province, which, in fact, enjoys now all the benefits of independence and self-government. It has the protection of England without paying a farthing towards the burdens of the Empire. The Canadians have scarcely any reason of complaint, and every trace of the spirit of 1837 has vanished from amongst them. There are no longer "Annexationists" in British America. So we were told by a Canadian gentleman.

The population of Upper and Lower Canada amounts almost to two millions. Whereas, in 1770, there were no other inhabitants in Upper Canada, than the Red men and a few French immigrants, now 950,000 Englishmen are there. The population of Lower Canada was, at the close of the American Revolution, somewhat above 100,000; now it is above 900,000, the majority of whom is of French origin. The increase of population is, therefore, as rapid as in the United States, yet there is a wide difference between the two shores of the lakes. On the American side we see small proprietors and many industrial cities, on the Canadian banks lordly manors, and the agricultural interest of large landed property prevailing over industrial and commercial enterprise. Along the Niagara, Canada looks like a fine park. We saw all around fertile soil, entensive fields of wheat and clover, as also large pastures; more barns, and larger stables than are general in the States, and everywhere the country is adorned by rich orchards and nice stone houses.

May 27th.—In the Clifton Hotel, and all about the falls in Canada, the waiters and servants, and occasionally likewise the shop-keepers, are colored people; of course fugitive slaves. I spoke with several of them, and they told me their adventures.

The Cicerone in the museum of natural history and

zoological collection, established here on a very creditable scale, had escaped from Kentucky. He first got his wife off, and followed her after a twelvemonth, assisted by friends, good white men. One of the waiters at the hotel told me he was only seven years old when he was *stolen* from his master in Virginia by the Abolitionists. "How so?" asked I. "Yes," said he, "they kidnapped me and conveyed me to Buffalo, and paid the passage for me across the lake, and so I got here." "But did you like to come?" "No," was the answer, "but now I am glad it happened." It seems the parties concerned had carried him off by mistake, instead of a boy whose parents had previously escaped to Canada. Another negro run away two years ago from New Orleans. His master had not been a very hard one, as he had allowed him to rent his own labor for twenty dollars a month; but the black found he could do without this task; for kind words and sixty dollars he was assisted to reach Cincinnati. His wife joined him several months later, led by her own energies; for the free negro whom her husband had dispatched with money to fetch her, absconded without giving account. The couple felt uneasy in Ohio, though they earned enough for their livelihood. The Fugitive Slave Law discussed in Congress frightened them yet more, and they fled from Cincinnati on the underground railway, so graphically described by Mrs. Beecher Stowe, to the British soil. His former master had lately been at the Falls, and had recognized him. He could not claim the fugitive under the English law, but he tried to persuade him to return with him to the South. The freedman, however, declined this offer. "Oh," said he to me, "it is only by ignorance that they can keep our people; those who have learnt to read and to write, always try to get off."

III. BUFFALO, AUBURN, SYRACUSE, THE ONONDAGAS.

May 29th.—After a delightful, quiet stay at the Falls, where Kossuth recruited his health, he had to resume his task. We are again in the hands of Committees and Municipalities, amidst processions and "turn-outs."

At Buffalo we remained for two days. We were told that here in the neighborhood there is a large German settlement, Ebenezer, formed on communistic principles. Here too, as at Rapp's Economy, religious ideas are mixed up with the rules of the society. But whilst Rapp founded his colony with poor Suabian weavers, the community of Ebenezer was originally composed of wealthy German gentlemen from Frankfort-on-the-Maine and its vicinity. With the Rappists it was only the first prophet who pretended to be a seer; here every member professes to be inspired; they are also less exclusive than the Rappists; marriage is not prohibited, and it is easy to be admitted into the brotherhood. Every member is bound to give up his whole property to the association, and if he leaves it he gets back his capital, but must forego all the accrued interests. They are now worth one and a half millions of dollars; their concerns are managed by fourteen trustees, who assign to every member his or her labor, provide for their necessities, comfort, and enjoyment, and so superintend as to forbid their mixing too frequently with people not belonging to the community.

I have now been several months in the United States, yet the wonderful effect of Democratic institutions strikes me always afresh. The principle, that *labor is never degrading*, is here carried into life, and imparts energy alike to the poor and to the wealthy. The head-waiter of the hotel at Buffalo is the son-in-law of the landlord, who is a rich man, and has given his daughter a very good educa-

tion; he was Postmaster under the administration of Polk, an appointment worth above 2000 dollars a year, here in Buffalo, as we were told. In Europe the son-in-law of such a man would think it unbecoming to superintend a hotel, and to attend the guests; here he can do it without losing his character of a gentleman, which he surely deserves much more than one who idles his time away.

This morning we started from Buffalo. We stopped only a moment at Rochester, where the falls of the Genesee River recall to the mind the Niagara, just as a small copy in water-colors faintly reproduces a great original oil painting. At Canandaigua we admired the blue Cayuga Lake, through which the railway is carried. We passed at Geneva the green Seneca Lake, and the fine Skeneateles, and reached Auburn at noon. Here we spent Saturday, and to-day we are at the pleasant home of Governor Seward. He was detained at Washington City, but Mrs. Seward has welcomed and entertained us with her own amiable cordiality. The mansion, furnished with comfortable simplicity, is adorned by the elegant neatness which pervades it in every room, in every corner. An ample and carefully selected library, family portraits, with a striking likeness of John Quincy Adams, cover the walls. Nothing in this house is luxurious, nothing superfluous, but every want is provided for with good taste, and every object offers immediate use or presents interesting associations. The foliage of ancient trees shades our windows, and allures us to step down into the garden, whose fragrance fills the rooms. Well-kept arbors line the walls, the air is perfumed by Narcissuses, hyacinths and syringas, around which cluster rich garlands of tulips and lovely Cupidarrows.

In these pleasant grounds we meet the members of the family, who are now staying at Auburn: the little daughter of Mrs. Seward and her nephew, to whom she has been

a mother; his sweet young wife and Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Seward's sister, who, though she has been established at Canandaigua for a number of years, yet, as long as her father lived, stayed with him whenever the official duties of Governor Seward called him and his wife from their home in Auburn. This is again an instance I have met with in the States, of children living under one roof with their parents, and devoting to them a great portion of their time and of their cares, even after their marriage.

Auburn is a small town, and yet, by the society we met here, we should not have surmised it. It is a blessing of local self-government, that talent, good manners, and taste are not confined to one great centre, as we see them in Paris. Here in the States there is scarcely a town in which we do not find persons who have been members of the State or of the Federal Legislature. They have associated with the best of their country, and have brought home into their circle the ease, the broader views, and the higher tone of well-bred society. Altogether, it appears to me that Americans, with few exceptions, lose the full ease and cordiality of their manners when they come to England. Brother Jonathan feels that his elder brother does not acknowledge his gentility. Jonathan is therefore anxious to give incontrovertible evidence with Englishmen that he is well-bred. By this effort he gets uneasy, and occasionally overdoes it, either appearing a coxcomb or vulgar.

At Auburn, of course, I visited the Penitentiary, where the Auburn system has originated, that of forced silence without isolation of the prisoners, who labor together in large workshops. It has been severely censured by the philanthropists in Europe, because the discipline of silence cannot be maintained without severe corporal punishment. Naturally, after one visit, I could hardly form any fixed opinion on the comparative merits of the Philadelphia and the Auburn system, that of isolation and that of silent labor.

The latter is less costly to the State, nearly self-supporting; but the countenance of the prisoners here seemed to me much more deadened, than in the solitary cells of Philadelphia and Pittsburg.

When I returned to Mrs. Seward's house, I found a humming-bird fluttering about my room. It had flown in from the garden, attracted by the blooming Syringas which covered the walls of the house up to the roof. The shining bird, like a glittering jewel, whirled around the room, unable to find its way out again. We have met with these superb creatures likewise in the gardens on the Niagara Falls; they are the characteristic bird of America; at home on the snows of Canada, in the tropical climate of Mexico and Peru, and in the barren regions of the Terra del Fuego. All over the American continent they adorn the flowers, sucking their honey. They can only live in open nature, they do not endure prison, but die in the cage,—they are the birds of liberty. Another animal is equally distributed all over America, from the North to the South: the poisonous rattle-snake; and this, too, cannot endure captivity; it does not take food in the cage, and rather dies from starvation.*

We took a ride on the banks of the smiling Owasco Lake. Here a dreadful crime was perpetrated in 1846. William Freeman, a young colored man, was in 1840 arrested for horse-stealing, and sentenced by circumstancial evidence for five years—though he always protested his innocence, which afterwards was also sufficiently proved, and kept to hard labor at Auburn. He infringed upon the rules of discipline, resisted forcibly when he was to be whipped,

* English naturalists have found out the means of feeding both the humming-bird and the rattle-snake. They put quills in a cup containing a solution of sugar, the bird flutters around and sucks the sugar through the quill, as it sucks the honey from the petals of the flowers. The rattle-snake is fed in the dark; it does not take food in daylight.

and suffered a heavy blow on the head, which stunned him. After his discharge he was often heard to say, that for five years he had been in prison for nothing, and he wanted to be paid for it. He applied to two magistrates for warrants against the parties who had sent him to prison, but the request was refused. Maddened by the injuries he had endured, he was determined to take vengeance on the society which granted no redress for his wrongs. One night he entered the lonely house of Mr. Van Nest, a highly esteemed gentleman, whom he had never known before, and without any provocation, murdered the gentleman, his wife, and their son, and mortally wounded the mother of Mrs. Van Nest. The populace became excited and sought the blood of the murderer; they caught him, and the gibbet for lynching him was already prepared, when the officers contrived to lodge him in prison. He was indicted for wilful murder. John Van Buren, then Attorney-General of the State, appeared for the people. William H. Seward, in spite of the unpopularity which he had to meet, for the prisoner, pleading insanity. The trial went on under considerable excitement; the culprit died before it was finally disposed of; but the defence of Mr. Seward led to a reform of the prison discipline at Auburn.

June 2*d.*—Yesterday we arrived at Syracuse, a young and growing city, the principal seat of the salt manufacture in the State. Mr. Baldwin and his accomplished family made our stay most pleasant and interesting. Whilst popular demonstrations went on in the city, Mr. Baldwin took us to the Indian Reserve of the Onondagas. It is a beautiful deep valley, where the scenery reminded me of the foreground of a Tyrolese dale, covered with rich meadows of dazzling green, and deep shadows of warm hue, in the declivities of bushy hills.

The Onondagas, the tribe which always gave the King

to the "Six Nations," were the third nation in the great Mingoe confederacy, called Iroquois by the French. It was they who guarded the key of the council-house of their union, and the great council-fire was usually kept with them. No business of importance touching the interest of the Iroquois was transacted elsewhere, but here in this valley. The nation is still divided into four superior and four inferior clans. The Chief of the nation may be selected of the Wolves, the Bears, the Beavers, and the Tortoises; but no civil chief can belong to Deers, the Eagles, the Herons, and the Eels; though a war-chief may be selected from them, as this is the lowest officer known to their law. Among the Onondagas the line of descent is always among the female branch of the family. The son of the Chief must yield precedency to the nephew, or to the grandson by the daughter. All the chiefs are subject to removal at any annual national council. They claim to be really aborigines; according to their traditions, they sprang from the earth here in Western New York. In olden times the business of the confederacy was transacted by the Head-chiefs of the nations, and was ratified or rejected in general councils. The majority of the Onondagas remained pagan; they held their religious rites and dances in the "old castle," as they call the council-house of the nation; the Christian minority has raised a church and a school. We drove to the council-house, a plain, square, whitewashed, wooden building, so often repaired and rebuilt that it is not at all ancient. It stands on a slight slope, in the centre of a large meadow. Here we found the young Indians playing at ball, all clothed in the European way, yet they show a little more taste than their white neighbors,—as they have not adopted the long-tailed dress-coat, nor the ugly cylindric head-cover; they wear jackets and broad-rimmed hats. Several Indians of mature age stood in a group near the council-house, and

were introduced to us, especially the Bible-reader, and David Hill, formerly a much respected chief, but now deposed by the nation, because he had become a convert to Christianity. We were told that it was a holiday of the pagan part of the nation, and the day on which the government officer makes the distribution of their annuity. But we heard also that a holiday makes here no great difference in the course of life: the Indian does not work on any day of the year. As nothing is becoming to a man but war, the chase, fishing, and playing, they play always: for the deer on their grounds have long ago been exterminated, the rivers and brooks contain scarcely any fish, and there is no occasion for making war. The white clergyman invited us to his congregation, and a message was sent to all the cabins of the Christians, that service will be held and speeches made in the church. They soon assembled; the females in their national costume; they cling more to their traditions than the men. The clergyman said prayers in English, and the red Bible-reader translated it, sentence by sentence, to the attentively listening audience. The men seemed evidently edified, but the squaws drew their blankets so close over their face that I scarcely could distinguish their features. The most remarkable portion of the service was the singing. The Christian English hymns are translated in the Mohawk language, and adapted to the national melodies. But the Indians have scarcely any other music than war songs, and therefore the hymns of the church, the hymns of peace and good will, are sung here with the wild cadence of the melody of war. The deep-swelling tones, with a nasal mixture of Hebrew character, are more solemn than touching, more awful than tender. After the song, Mr. Baldwin came to the pulpit and told them that as an adopted son of the Oneidas (for as lawyer, he had rendered great service to that nation, and his father had lived in their

vicinity when the white settlements were yet scarce), he felt great sympathy with the red men. He was sorry that he had to acknowledge how many evils the contact with the whites had brought upon the red men. But they should not be either unjust to the whites, or discouraged in regard to the future. With many wrongs, the pale faces have brought to their red brethren an inestimable boon,—the Book of books, which teaches truth and leads to salvation. The audience replied by a low groan, with them the affirmative sign. But this spirit is not yet prevalent among the Indians, and the doctrines of Christianity are little understood among them. When a few years back a missionary addressed them at Buffalo Creek, they replied:

"Brother, listen to what we say: There was a time when our forefathers owned this great island; their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun; the Great Spirit made it for the use of Indians; He had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food; he had made the bear and the beaver—their skins served us for clothing; he had scattered them over the country, and taught us how to take them; he had caused the earth to produce corn and bread; all this he had done for his red children, because he loved them. If we had some disputes about our hunting grounds, they were settled without the shedding much blood. But an evil day came upon us; your forefathers crossed the great waters, and landed on this island; their numbers were small; they found friends, and not enemies; they told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and had come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat; we took pity on them, we granted their request, and they sat down among us. We gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison in return.

"The white people had now found out our country;

tidings were carried back, and more came among us; yet we did not fear them. We took them to be friends; they called us brothers; we believed, them and gave them a larger seat. At length their numbers had greatly increased; they wanted more land,—they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place; Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquor among us; it was strong and powerful, and has slain thousands.

"Brother, our seats were once large, and yours were small. You have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets. You have got our country, but are not satisfied; you want to force your religion upon us.

"Brother, you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit. If there be but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it? Why not all agree, as you can all read the book?

"Brother, we do not understand these things. We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and was handed down from father to son. We, also, have a religion that was given to our forefathers, and has been handed down to us their children. We worship in that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the favors we receive, to love each other, and to be united. We never quarrel about religion.

"Brother, the Great Spirit has made us all, but he has made a great difference between his white and his red children. He has given us different complexions and customs. To you he has given arts; to these he has not opened our eyes. We know these things to be true.

"Since he has made so great a difference between us in other things, why may we not conclude that he has given us a different religion, according to our understanding?

The Great Spirit does right. He knows what is best for His children: we are satisfied.

"Brother, we do not want to destroy your religion, or to take it from you. We only want to enjoy our own.

"Brother, we do not worship the Great Spirit as the white men do; but we believe that forms of worship are indifferent to the Great Spirit. It is the offering of a sincere heart that pleases Him, and we worship Him in this manner.

"Brother, you have now heard our answer to your talk, and this is all we have to say at present. As we are going to part, we will come and take you by the hand, and hope the Great Spirit will protect you on your journey, and return you safe to your friends."

We proceeded now to the school. There sat on the benches the younger shoots of the decaying tribe, obviously stubbornly determined against learning, which seems to be an infringement on their sporting liberties. The young lady who acted as school-mistress in vain endeavored to induce them to read: the boys remained silent. At last a girl volunteered to answer a few questions of geography; she recognized on the map the Mississippi and the Ohio; a boy also solved a problem of addition on the reckoning machine. I asked the young lady whether she spoke the Mohawk language, but she frankly confessed that she not only did not speak, but even had no ear for it, and despaired of ever acquiring it. The children do not understand English; there is but one red lad of about ten years who understands it a little, and acts as interpreter to the teacher as often as he pleases, for even Anglo-Saxon systematical steadiness cannot conquer the self-willed determination of the red boys to have their own way. The results of such a teaching are easily imagined. To an animal, food is not given dressed in a way repugnant to its instincts; and here, instruction, mental food, is administered without the

least consideration, in a way thoroughly uncongenial to the conception of the pupils. A lady teaches them who feels that she never can learn their language. How can she, who cannot catch their words, perceive their mental peculiarities, without which all instruction falls on a barren soil?

We returned to the council-house, where the government agent was now distributing the annuity which had been stipulated for by the nation at the sale of their claims. He paid $5.75 per head, and we observed that it was almost always the squaw who took the money, not her lord. As we had heard that the King of the Six Nations, always an Onondaga, now a young boy, was somewhere in the neighborhood, we expressed the wish to pay our respects to his Majesty. In a few minutes the school-mistress came with a ragged boy in tears, and said, "This here is the King." The Americans did not know why he wept so bitterly, but I immediately felt that the little red man was in despair at appearing before foreigners in his common garb, and barefooted, instead of being clad in his regal costume, with his silver chains and badges. He felt that his shabby attire was degrading to his nation. Mr. Pulszky immediately approached him, respectfully, and presented him the orange which he held in his hand. The boy, scarcely nine years old, seemed to be comforted when he saw that we treated him with deference; a wild flame flashed in his eyes; I recognized the true royal blood.

We visited several of the houses; they were like those of the Tuscaroras, not much reminding one of civilized life. In that of the ex-chief, David Hill, we found a book: The Life of Red Jacket, the famous Seneca Chief, who, in 1812, persuaded five of the Six Nations to take up the tomahawk for their white brethren against the English, who had enlisted the sixth nation, the Mohawks, together with the Sioux and Ojibbeways. Hill is a compar-

atively rich man, and has sent his daughter to New York, to a boarding-school for young ladies. How will she accustom herself again to the life of her tribe? We heard that she prepared herself to be a missionary amongst them. No doubt she will succeed better than the poor school-mistress, who, in spite of her exertions, cannot get on with her stubborn red pupils.

The religious dance and sacrifice of the pagan Onondagas was to begin in the evening at moonrise. Unfortunately, we could not stay. They have four festivals in the year, all thanksgivings: one, after the season for making maple-sugar is past; the second, after corn-planting; the third, the green-corn feast, directly after the first ears of the maize are broken off; the fourth after harvest. They are celebrated by speeches from the elder chiefs, thanksgivings, games, music, singing, and the performance of the peace dances. One of these is certainly symbolic; (probably they are all so, though the Americans do not understand them;—on the whole, they little trouble themselves with the rites of their red brethren.) A straight line is drawn on the ground, upon which all are directed to walk by placing one foot directly before the other; it shall admonish them not to deviate either to the right or to the left into the paths of vice, but to keep straight in the way of rectitude, which in the end leads to the mansions of the Great Spirit. The fifth festival is most solemn: it closes the year, and is celebrated on the first full moon after the winter solstice. Three days are allotted to the feast. On the first the old fire is extinguished by the chosen managers; in all the cabins the hearth is cleaned, and new fire struck from the flint and re-kindled. On the second day the managers, fantastically dressed, collect the gifts of the people,—articles of food or incense. On the last they cover their faces with masks, dress in old blankets, and bedaub themselves with soot and grease;

they knock at every door, and take upon themselves the sins of the people; these the high-priest transfers with divers ceremonies on to two spotless white dogs, adorned with belts, feathers, and ribbons. The dogs are then strangled with a long rope by the managers, and burned in the fire of sacrifice in presence of the nation. Incense and tobacco is thrown into the fire, and prayers offered to the Great Spirit. The war-dance in the council-house closes the proceedings; it is the exact image of a campaign. It represents the preparation and arming of the warriors for battle, their departure from their country, their arrival at the territory of the enemy, their mode of encampment, the attack, the scalping of the slain, and the torture and heroism of the prisoners. The Christian part of the community does not take any part in the dances, as dance has retained among the Indians its original meaning: it is always a religious performance.*

* Onondaga—by Joshua V. H. Clark.

CHAPTER VIII.

ALBANY AND NEW YORK.

I. SCHENECTADY AND ALBANY.—SCHOOL SYSTEM OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary, June 6th.*)

On the 3d we remained a few hours in Utica, and proceeded to Schenectady, a town of about 10,000 inhabitants, whose principal feature is Union College, one of the seats of higher education for Western New York. We stayed in the house of Colonel Paige and his sweet wife, both enthusiastic friends of Hungary, and made the acquaintance of the venerable President of the College, Dr. Philalethes Nott, who, for half a century past, has directed the education here, and numbers amongst his pupils most of the distinguished New York statesmen. We saw at the College that he was revered by the students as a father. Mrs. Nott, a very amiable and kind lady, pointed out to me the beautiful view from her window, overlooking the fine garden, laid out with remarkable taste by Professor Jackson, and the romantic valley of the Mohawk River.

The next morning we left for Troy, where, as in Utica and Schenectady, Kossuth had a festive reception; it is the rival city of Albany, on the opposite side of the canal. A short drive in the moonlight carried us again to Al-

bany. Here we met Governor Marcy, the celebrated Democratic Secretary of War of President Polk during the Mexican campaign. The day before yesterday there was no slight probability that the Democratic Convention, which is now sitting at Baltimore, would elect him their candidate. But yesterday the telegraphic message arrived that General Pierce had the majority of votes. Mr. Pulszky saw Governor Marcy a few hours later: he bore the issue of the deliberations at Baltimore with stoical dignity, gave details about the doings of the Convention, and said that though General Pierce was as yet little known in the United States, he not only will surely be elected by the people, but will prove also a worthy successor of Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson. He said that in America the defeated party candidates always exert themselves to the utmost for their more lucky rival, as any personal resentment would lead to the defeat of all the party.

The regular and frequent recurrence of the elections, has led, here in the United States, to a peculiar organization of the parties, with the aim of securing that no votes should be lost by giving them to men of only local popularity, who therefore have no chance to get a general majority. Formerly, the system of "caucuses" prevailed. The Senators and Representatives in Washington, together with other influential volunteer members, held a party meeting, and determined who should be nominated. Such a meeting was styled a "caucus," and the party all over the States regularly voted for the nominee of the old stagers of Washington. In the States, similar caucuses were held before every State election. Since the time of Jackson, however, the system of "conventions" was introduced. The Democrats, as well as the Whigs, of every electoral district, assemble in each State in primary meetings, and elect a member for the party convention. The State convention decides the question of contested seats,

and adds two more members; all of them meet, about half a year previous to the Presidential election, at some central city, in order to point out the party candidates for the people. There is much "log-rolling" and "wire-pulling" in those conventions; they are great feasts for the professional politicians. Intrigues and counter-intrigues are laid and defeated, explanations required and given, coalitions formed and abandoned, until one of the candidates gets the majority of the votes. The Democrats are in this respect more exigent than the Whigs; they require a "two-thirds majority" for their nominee. The manœuvres result sometimes in the nomination of a man who has not yet acted any important part in politics, as was the case with President Polk, and again with General Pierce. But the people at large do not much like such surprises. I heard it mentioned, therefore, as probable, that the system of conventions will also shortly be reformed, and that the people, at the election of the delegates, will give their vote immediately also for the man whom they wish to be elected as President, and that the action of the party convention will be restricted to a selection from amongst the three candidates who get the highest number of popular votes in the primary party meetings.

Mayor Perry and Alderman Wasson, both most worthy and cordial self-made men, took us yesterday to the Cemetery, one of the romantic spots vying in beauty with Mount Auburn, near Cambridge. I remarked that there were many monuments erected by widowers to the memory of two consecutive wives; one gentleman had even buried five wives under the same grave-stone. Mrs. Wasson told me that ladies are but too frequently short-lived here; they take little exercise, and lead altogether a too sedentary life We went, also, to the orphan asylum, in which Mrs. Wasson takes active interest. Motherly care is taken

here of the parentless children. They live in airy rooms, provided with all the comforts of a home, where the girls remain until they get employment, and whither they always can return when they have no other home. The boys at the age of between seven and fourteen are sent as apprentices to mechanics or farmers. We were told that the clever and smart orphan girls are very often adopted by childless persons.

II. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF NEW YORK.

Mr. S. S. Randall, the Secretary of State, a great collector of autographs, showed us the extensive library and the rich archives of the State, and kindly gave us every information on the school system of New York:

"It has been formed by combining the different plans of supporting common schools which prevail in the New England States," says Mr. Flagg, the Superintendent of the schools in 1832. "Connecticut has a large fund which produces nearly or quite the amount paid for teachers' wages, and they have no local tax. Massachusetts and Maine have no public fund, and the wages of teachers are provided by a town tax. Our system happily combines the principles of a State fund and a town tax; enough is apportioned from the State Treasury to invite and encourage the co-operation of the districts and towns, and not so much as to induce the inhabitants to believe that they have nothing more to do than to hire a teacher to absorb the public money. The tax authorized upon the property of the town and district has a most salutary effect in awakening the attention of the inhabitants to the concerns of the common schools. The power of district meetings to raise money by tax induces the inhabitants to attend the meetings, and to overlook the interest and proceedings of the district; when, if the whole expense were provided by a State fund, they would allow the trustees to receive and expend the money, as if it were a matter

which did not interest the great body of the inhabitants. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the best mode of providing for the expense of giving instruction to all the children of the State, the success which has attended our system warrants the conclusion that a public fund may be made eminently useful for organizing a system of universal instruction. The apportionment of a few dollars is often the immediate inducement for the neighborhoods to establish schools where none existed before, and for prompting new settlements to erect school-houses at an earlier period than they otherwise would have done, in order to participate in a fund, however small, which they know is enjoyed by other districts in their towns."

The general outlines of the New York system are given by Mr. Randall in the following terms:

"The entire territory of the State, comprising, exclusively of the waters of the great lakes, an area of 45,658 square miles, has been subdivided into about eleven thousand and four hundred school districts, averaging somewhat more than four square miles each; seldom, in the rural districts, varying materially from this average, and bringing the remotest inhabitants of the respective districts within a little more than one mile of the school-house.

"Common schools, in the several districts of the State, are free to all residents of the districts between the ages of four and twenty-one years, and non-residents of the district may be admitted into the school of any district with the written consent of the Trustees.

"Every male person of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, residing in any school district, (including aliens entitled by law to hold real estate,) who owns or hires real property in such district subject to taxation for school purposes, or who is a legal voter at town meetings, and is the owner of personal property liable to taxation for school purposes, exceeding fifty dollars in value, beyond such as

is exempt from execution, is entitled to vote at any school district meeting held in such district.

"An annual meeting of the inhabitants of each district entitled to vote therein, is to be held, after the first organization of the district, at the time and place designated at the first and at each subsequent meeting; and special meetings are to be held whenever called by the Trustees.

"When legally assembled in any district meeting, the inhabitants of each district, so entitled to vote, are authorized by the majority of the votes of those present, either by ballot or otherwise, as they may determine, to choose three trustees, a district clerk, collector, and librarian. The trustees chosen at the first legal meeting of the district are to be divided by lot into three classes, and the term of office of the first is to be one year; of the second, two, and of the third, three years; and one trustee only is thereafter annually to be elected, who holds his office for three years. The clerk, collector, and librarian, are annually elected. In the event of a vacancy happening in the office of trustee, by death, refusal to serve, removal out of the district, or incapacity to act, such vacancy may be supplied by the district, and if more than a month is permitted to elapse without filling it, the town superintendent is authorized to appoint; and the person so chosen or appointed holds only for the unexpired term of the officer whose place he fills. A similar vacancy in the offices of clerk, collector, or librarian, is to be supplied by appointment of the trustees, or a majority of them. The Town Superintendent, on good cause shown, is authorized to accept the resignation of any district officer.

"The inhabitants of the several districts, in district meeting assembled, are also authorized to designate a site for a school-house (with the consent of the Town Superintendent), for two or more school-houses for the district, and to vote such an amount as they may deem sufficient to pur-

chase or lease such a site or sites, and to build, hire, or purchase a school-house or houses, keep the same in suitable repair, and furnish them with the necessary fuel and appendages; and may, in their discretion, vote a tax not exceeding twenty dollars, in any one year, for the purchase of maps, globes, black-boards, and other school apparatus. No tax, however, for building, hiring or purchasing a school-house, can exceed the sum of $400, unless the Town Superintendent of the town in which such house is to be situated shall certify that a larger sum, specifying the same, ought to be raised; and when the site for the school-house has once been fixed, it cannot be changed, while the district remains unaltered, but by the written consent of the town superintendent, and by the vote ayes and noes of a majority of the inhabitants of the district, at a special meeting called for the purpose. In this case the inhabitants may direct the sale of the former site or lot, together with the buildings and appurtenances, on such terms as they may deem most advantageous to the district, and the trustees, or a majority of them, are empowered to effect such sale, and to execute the necessary conveyances. The proceeds are to be applied to the purchase of a new site, and to the removal, erection or purchase of new houses.

"The general administration of the affairs of the several districts devolves principally upon the trustees, who have the custody of all the district property; contract with, employ and pay the teachers; assess all district taxes, following the valuations of the town assessor, so far as they afford a guide, and make out the necessary tax-lists and warrants for their collection; call the annual and special meetings of the inhabitants; purchase or lease sites for the school-house, as previously designated by the district, and build, hire, or purchase, keep in repair and furnish such school-house with the necessary fuel and appendages, out of the funds provided by the district for that purpose; pur-

chase suitable books for the district library, which is specially committed to their care, and procure all such school apparatus as the district may direct; and on the first of January in each year make their report of the condition of the district, in the form prescribed by law, to the Town Superintendent.

"The productive capital of the Common School Fund is at this time, $2,243,563 36

The capital of that portion of the U. S. Deposit Fund, the interest of which is annually appropriated to the support of the Common Schools, is, 2,750,000 00

To which may be added a sum that will annually produce an income of $25,000, reserved by the Constitution to be added to the capital of the School Fund, viz.: 416,666 67

Making an aggregate of $5,400,230 03

"The annual interest on this sum, at six per cent., is $324,000; of which $300,000 is annually appropriated to the support of Common Schools, including $55,000 for the purchase of district libraries and school apparatus.

"The sum of eight hundred thousand dollars is annually required to be levied on the real and personal property of the State, and when collected to be paid over to the several County Treasurers, subject to the order of the State Superintendent of Common Schools, who is to ascertain of such sum to be assessed and collected in each County, according to the valuation of real and personal estate therein, and to certify the same to the several County Clerks, to be laid before the Boards of Supervisors, whose duty it is to levy such amount upon the county. On or before the first day of January in each year, the State Superintendent is required to apportion two-thirds of the amount so raised, together with all other moneys appropriated to

the support of Common Schools, among the several counties, cities and towns, and to divide the remaining third equally among the several districts.

"Under these provisions the aggregate amount of public money annually apportioned by the State Superintendent, and raised upon the taxable property of the several counties, is $1,100,000; of which $1,045,000 is applicable exclusively to the payment of teachers' wages, and the support of the school, and the remaining $55,000 to the purchase of school libraries and apparatus.

"In addition to this, the inhabitants of each town of the State are authorized to raise an additional amount, equal to their share of the State fund, to be appropriated exclusively to the support of the schools; and many of the towns are in possession of local funds applicable to this object, derived from the sale of lands originally set apart in each township by the State for this purpose.

"Town Superintendents are biennially elected by the inhabitants and legal voters of the several towns, at their annual meetings in March and April of each alternate year, and enter upon the execution of the duties devolved upon them on the first Monday of November succeeding their election, holding for the term of two years thereafter. They are required to execute to the Supervisor of their town a bond with sufficient securities, with a penalty in double to the amount of all the school money received by the town, conditioned for the faithful application and legal disbursement of all the school money which may come into their hand during their term of office, and for the faithful discharge of all their duties. They are authorized to form, regulate, and alter the boundaries of school districts, when applied to for that purpose, or when in their judgment necessary and expedient, associating with them the Supervisor and Town Clerk of their town, whenever requested by the trustees of any district interested in

any proposed alteration; and it is their duty to apply for, and to receive from, the county treasurer and the town collector respectively, all school money apportioned or belonging to their town; and on or before the first Thursday in April of each year to apportion the same among the several districts of their town, according to the number of children between the ages of four and twenty-one, residing in each, as reported to them by the trustees, provided such districts have in all respects complied with the directions of law during the preceding year, and made the annual report required of them.

"No district, without the special permission of the State Superintendent, can participate in such apportionment, which has not had a school taught within it for at least six months during the year reported, by a duly qualified teacher; which has not faithfully expended all its public money in the mode prescribed by law; or in which a school has been taught for a period exceeding one month by an unqualified teacher.

"In making such apportionment, the Town Superintendents designate the respective sums applicable to the payment of teachers, and to the purchase of libraries and school apparatus; and hold the former subject to the order of the trustees, or of a majority of them, in favor of the teachers employed by them and duly qualified according to law; paying over the library money directly to the trustees. They are also to examine candidates for teachers, and to grant certificates of qualification, which are valid for one year only, and may at any time be annulled by them, on notice to the teacher holding such certificate; and to visit and inspect the several schools of their town at least twice in each year, and oftener if they deem it necessary. On the first day of July in each year, they are to make and file with the county clerk, a report in the form prescribed by the State Superintendent, and containing such information

in reference to the condition of the schools in their town, as he may from time to time direct. At the expiration of their term of office, they are to account to their successors for all the school moneys received and disbursed by them, and to pay any balance remaining in their hands. For their services they are entitled to receive $1.25 per day for every day actually devoted by them to the discharge of their official duties.

"At the seat of government, the *State Normal School* semi-annually receives under its instruction from two hundred to two hundred and fifty pupils of both sexes, selected by the Board of Town Superintendents of the respective counties, each county being entitled to two pupils for each member of Assembly. After spending from two to three years in the institution, the graduates return to their respective counties, and enter upon the active discharge of their duties as teachers; communicating as often as may be practicable, through the agency of the *Teachers' Institutes*, in the spring and fall of each year, a general knowledge of the modes of teaching, government, and discipline attained by them in the Normal School. These *Institutes*, under the supervision and general direction of the most experienced guides, enable every teacher to acquaint himself practically and familiarly with the duties devolving upon him, and secure to each one of the eleven thousand districts of our State a faithful and efficient teacher.

"At the head of the whole system,—controlling, regulating, and giving life and efficiency to all its parts,—is the State Superintendent. He apportions the State tax of $800,000, and the public money among the several counties and towns—distributes the laws, instructions, decisions, forms, &c., through the agency of the Town Superintendents, to the several districts—has final jurisdiction in appeal from all the acts and proceedings of the inhabi-

tants of the several districts and their officers, as well as of town superintendents; keeps up a constant correspondence with the several officers connected with the administration in all its parts, as well as with the inhabitants of districts seeking aid, counsel, or advice; exercises a liberal discretionary power, on equitable principles, in all cases of inadvertent, unintentional, or accidental omissions to comply with the strict requisitions of the law; grants State certificates of qualification to such teachers as he deems worthy; reports annually to the Legislature respecting the condition, prospects, and resources of the Common Schools, and the management of the School Fund, together with such suggestions for the improvement of the system as may occur to him; and vigilantly watches over, encourages, sustains, and expands to its utmost practicable limit, the vast system of common school education throughout the State.

"Such is a condensed view of our present system of *Common School Education;*—a system elaborated and matured to its present state, by the exertions of the highest minds among us, during a period of forty years; a system comprehending the best and dearest interests, present and prospective, of an enlightened and free people—full of promise for the future, and containing within itself the germs of the most extended individual, social and national prosperity; a system identified with the highest hopes and interests of all classes of the community, and from which are destined to flow those streams of intelligence and of public and private virtue which alone can enable us worthily to fulfil the noble destinies involved in our free institutions.

"But in this country, no systems, however perfect, no enactments, however enlightened, and no authority, however constituted, can attain to the full accomplishment of their object, however praiseworthy and laudable, without

the hearty and efficient co-operation of public sentiment. Aided by this co-operation, the most important results may be anticipated from the most simple organization. The repeated and solemn recognition by the representatives of the people, of the interests of popular education and public instruction; the nearly unanimous adoption of a system, commended to the public favor as well by practical experience as by the concurring testimony of the most enlightened minds of our own and other countries; and the simplification of much of the complicated machinery which served only to encumber and impede the operation of that system; these indications afford the most conclusive evidence not only of the importance which the great mass of our fellow-citizens attach to the promotion of sound intellectual and moral instruction, but of their determination to place our common schools, where this instruction is chiefly dispensed to the children of the State, upon a footing which shall enable them most effectually to accomplish the great objects of their institution.

"It is upon the extent and permanency of this feeling that the friends of education rely; and this spirit to which they appeal, in looking forward to the just appreciation and judicious improvement of those means of moral and mental enlightenment which the beneficent policy of the State has placed at the disposal of the inhabitants of the several districts. The renovation of our common schools, distributed as they are over every section of our entire territory, their elevation and expansion to meet the constantly increasing requirements of science and moral progress, and their capability of laying broad and deep the foundation of character and usefulness, must depend upon the intelligent and fostering culture which they shall receive at the hands of those to whose immediate charge they are committed. There is no institution within the range of civilization, upon which so much, for good or for

evil, depends—upon which hang so many and important issues to the future well-being of individuals and communities, as the common district school. It is through that alembic that the lessons of the nursery and the family fireside, the earliest instructions in pure morality, and the precepts and examples of the social circle are distilled; and from it those lessons are destined to assume that tinge and hue which are permanently to be incorporated into the character and the life. Is it too much, then, to ask or to expect of parents, that laying aside all minor considerations, abandoning all controversies and dissensions among themselves in reference to local, partisan and purely selfish objects, or postponing them at least, until the interests of their children are placed beyond the influence of the irritating topics, they will consecrate their undivided energies to the advancement and improvement of these beneficent institutions? Resting as it does upon their support, indebted to them for all its means of usefulness, and dependent for its continued existence upon their discriminating favor and efficient sanction, the practical superiority of the existing system of public instruction is comprehensiveness and simplicity; its abundant and unfailing resources, and its adaptation to the educational wants of every class of community, will prove of little avail without the invigorating influences of a sound and enlightened public sentiment, emanating from and pervading the entire social system. The district school must become the central interest of the citizen and the parent, the clergyman, the lawyer, the physician, the merchant, the manufacturer and the agriculturist. Each must realize that there, under more or less favoring auspices, as they themselves shall determine, developments are in progress, which are destined, at no distant day, to exert a controlling influence over the institutions, habits, mode of thought and action of society in all its complicated phases · and that the primary responsibility for the results

which may be thus worked out, for good or for evil, rests with them. "By the removal of every obstacle to the progressive and harmonious action of the system of popular education, so carefully organized and amply endowed by the State, by a constant, and methodical, and intelligent co-operation with its authorized agents, in the elevation and advancement of that system in all parts, and especially by an infusion into its entire course of discipline and instruction of that high moral culture which can alone adequately realize the idea of sound education, results of inconceivable magnitude and importance to individual, social, and moral well-being may confidently be anticipated. These results can only be attained by an enlightened appreciation and judicious cultivation of the means of elementary instruction. They demand and will amply repay the consecration of the highest intellectual and moral energies, the most comprehensive benevolence, and the best affections of our common nature."

I hope the English reader will excuse the length of this quotation. In the deplorable backwardness of public education in England, I thought I could do some service by diffusing detailed information of things in America; especially now that a new ministry, powerful in its individual members, has pledged itself to the advancement of public education.

III. NEW YORK CITY AGAIN.

The Hudson between Albany and New York is a noble stream, with fine scenery on its banks, being in this respect the most beautiful river in the eastern part of the Union. It reminds one of the Rhine and of the Upper Danube, though on the whole less picturesque than either of them. The Highlands, in the immediate neighborhood of New York, offer great attractions to the metropolis of American

commerce; many of its wealthy inhabitants have built here their summer abodes. The finest panorama opens at West Point, where the young officers of the American army get a careful education, equal, if not superior, to the best European establishments of this kind.

The site of New York on Manhattan Island is one of the most favorable in the world. It has the sea as a high road to all parts of the globe; a secure harbor large enough for the mightiest commercial fleet, and an easy access to it; yet defended as strongly by the Narrows between Long Island, Staten Island and the main-land as Constantinople by the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The Hudson and the Erie Canal unlock the inland for the city, and grant a spacious outlet to the agricultural treasures of the Mississippi Valley. New York is the gate to the gigantic north-western basin, for through it the commerce of Europe and America must pass. Manhattan Island is so large that the city will not cover it for at least two centuries, growing at the same rate as now, and the neighboring shores of New Jersey and of Long Island afford an unlimited space to the future. The surrounding deep sea with its strong ebb and flood tide and the current through the Narrows render the drainage and sewerage easy and effective; the sea-breeze makes the climate healthy; the splendid Croton Aqueduct provides the city with abundant clear water; and by the sea, the river, canal and the net of railways, sufficient building material, granite and white marble, and cheap coals for fuel, are within reach of the citizens. Combined with these natural advantages we find here an enterprising people, trained by a solid system of primary instruction, living under a form of government which does not fetter in any way the energies of the citizens, and gives full scope to the full development of the most extensive schemes, and the most daring speculations. We can therefore hardly be aston-

ished at the rapid increase of this great emporium, which, several times baffled in its progress by financial crises, always rose more prosperous and more powerful after the disaster. One feature is yet lacking here, as everywhere in America,—the development of artistical taste. Here, as all over the world, friends and relatives are anxious to possess the likeness of those to whom they are attached, but the Americans are satisfied with daguerreotypes, and this mechanical production is encouraged *at the expense of art*. The Americans have scarcely yet perceived that the sun cannot produce a monument of art; that it is not the servile *imitation* of nature which is the task of the artist. He must first learn to see, and must possess the genius to embody in forms and colors what he has beheld. A work of art is always a creation,—the image of nature reflected by the genius of man. Such thoughts crossed my mind when I stood before one of the numerous daguerreotype exhibitions in Broadway, and Mr. Greenough, the American sculptor, accosted me.* I had formed his acquaintance in Washington, and gladly accepted his kind offer to show me his studio at Brooklyn. I saw in the colossal bust of Cooper, just modelled by the artist, that American talent has not to blush, if compared with that of the present artists of Italy and England. It is therefore not lack of artistical skill, but the American turn of mind, which leaves the houses of the wealthy, the churches and the city halls, the court-houses and market-places poor in monuments. The studio of Mr. Greenough is connected with a brass foundry, and I was astonished to find the casting as perfect as in Munich or Paris. Some parts of the statue of the great De Witt Clinton had just come from the furnace; there remained hardly anything to be finished by the

* This eminent artist died in autumn, 1852, lamented by every friend of art.

chisel. This fine sculpture will adorn the Cemetery of New York.

Already now in June the heat is intense here, not less than in Naples; the sea-breeze is scarcely felt at noon, the atmosphere is sultry and electric. Yet the Exchange and the wharves are thronged with busy people, scores of persons before the Astor House and the Irving House transact business; Wall street is as full of life as ever; the oppressive air has not slackened the active intercourse, though everybody complains and feels uncomfortable. But lo! from the shop of Genin the hatter issues a host of boys, every one with dozens of Chinese fans, distributing them at the Exchange, in the omnibuses, in the bar-rooms and reading-rooms of the hotels, in the counting-houses of the merchants, in the streets and in the thoroughfares, to every one they meet. Each fan is labelled with the direction of the donor, and whoever receives them finds this way of advertising as graceful as ingenious. Mr. Genin, the brother-in-law of Barnum, beats far the Alsopps of Burton-on-Trent and the Moseses of London. His modes of advertising savor of grandeur. When Jenny Lind gave the first concert, and the tickets were disposed of by public auction, the great hatter gave five hundred dollars for the right to select his place in the concert-hall. Of course, his name was circulated all over the Union, and the apparent extravagance proved in the end a cheap mode of advertising. When there is an institution to be founded which excites the interest of all New York, the name of Genin stands foremost in the list of subscribers. What in England remained primitive humbug has been raised here to a "philosophy of advertising." Barnum has received the highest degrees and honors of this science; he has become by it a rich and important man.

The American Museum; the living skeleton; the woolly horse; Joyce Heath, the alleged nurse of General Wash-

ington, one hundred and fifty years old; the Mermaid; Tomb Thumb, and even Jenny Lind, are the mile-stones on his progress to fortune. He is now one of the influential men in Connecticut; he lectures on temperance, and builds a city at Bridgeport in that State. He saw that the town of this name had an excellent harbor and a healthy situation, and therefore he bought all the land around, divided it into building squares, and is now selling all the odd lots at the cost price on credit to those who actually build houses; he even advances money for the building, and in this way he attracts people to the spot, sure to clear considerable on his reserved even lots. Publicity in America turns "puffing" sometimes to public advantage.

The police of New York is not the best. I was told that many of the daily fires are only explained by the high insurances, and that if their origin were closer investigated the fire-assurance companies would save great outlay and the courts of justice would have more to do. The by-streets of the city, and occasionally even Bowery and Broadway, are, in the night, infested by gangs of fellows, who, under the name of rowdies, loafers, and short-boys, annoy the passers-by with larks and practical jokes; they violently invade the taverns, expel the guests, eat and drink, break whatever is in their reach, and never pay. It happens that at the elections they frighten away peaceful citizens from the poll. That such nuisance is not energetically repressed, is hardly conceivable.

The enormous immigration from Europe has, of course, increased the number of paupers in America. Yet the census of 1850 reports only 134,972 as having received public charity during the year preceding June, 1850, to the amount of $2,954,806; but New York paid of this amount $817,336. Of course those who subsisted in hospitals, retreats, &c., who were relieved by the Commissioners of Emigration or by private charity, are not included

in this number, which is in any case surprisingly small. New York has, in fact, to maintain one third of all the destitute persons in the Union. The West and the South scarcely know what pauperism is.

As to public amusements, theatres are much less frequented in the United States than in Europe. New York enjoys dramatical performances more than any other city in North America. The plays performed on the stage are all imported from Europe; there has risen as yet no dramatic author of any note among the twenty millions of citizens. The amusements here are of a different description from those in Europe. Winter is the great season for lectures. Statesmen, clergymen, professors, authors, mechanics, ladies and gentlemen, every body lectures. In Spring the fire companies send and receive deputations to and from other cities; the engines are carried through the streets, in procession; if there are no fires to be extinguished the thirst is quenchd at great suppers. The militia companies shoot at the target, hold reviews, and close their exercises by brilliant dinners. The German Glee Societies assemble from all parts of the Union, give great concerts, and enjoy beautiful Nature with song, rural dance, and social games on the meadow. In summer fishing excursions on the sea are frequent, but the fashionable society goes to the watering-places, to the country seat on the Hudson, to Niagara Falls or to the Lakes. The autumn has no vintage, except in Ohio, but it is the busy season for politicians; electioneering is going on. There is always somebody to be elected, the President or the Governor, the federal or the State legislature, the Mayor and the Aldermen.

These amusements are more or less common to all parts of America, but nowhere so much enjoyed as here. Of all the cities in the Union, New York has the most mixed population, composed from every European nation, and

from every American State. The continual intermarriage of the races makes the New Yorker more excitable, and more fond of excitement, than the steadier New Englander or the conservative Southerner. In his character there is a vein of the versatility of the Parisian, though in his physical development English features prevail.

CONCLUSION.

I. PARALLEL OF AMERICAN AND ENGLISH CHARACTER.

I HAVE already attempted to portray the character of the Americans in the four great portions of the Union. Still there are features common to them all; there is a general family likeness amongst them, which is only to a small extent modified by the continuous stream of immigration. Europeans, and even Americans, often overrate the importance of the national movement which carries Germans, Englishmen and the Irish across the Ocean. They come all by the way of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and New Orleans, and their concentrated masses seem here appalling. Yet the United States census of 1850 shows that immigration has not swelled the population to any such extent as has been generally supposed, and that of the 19,630,738 free white inhabitants of the Union, only 2,210,828 were born in foreign countries, forming eleven per cent. only of the free population. And, again, 43 per cent. of the immigrants were Irish, 23 came from England, Scotland, Wales and British America, 25 from Germany, and 7 from France and all the other countries.*

We can therefore correctly say that the population of the United States is composed of the same elements as that of Great Britain. It is the same mixture of Anglo-

* It is interesting to see the effect of the peculiar institution in the selection of domicil made by the immigrants: 1,965,518 of them are residents of the free States, only 245,310 of the slave States.

Saxon, Scotch and Celtic blood as in the old country; the Americans, in fact, are nothing else but Englishmen, developed under different political and social institutions. They are not cousins of the English, as they are commonly called, but their brothers; bones of their bones and flesh of their flesh. The institutions which have modified the original English character in the Union, are the equality of democracy, highly developed local government, and the free tenure of land, all unfettered by a State Church and an hereditary landed aristocracy. In one portion of the Union we find, besides, the institution of slavery; a dead weight, which checks in some degree the tendency to innovation inherent in every democracy. Like the English, the Americans are a deeply earnest and religious people; they keep the Sabbath with equal rigor, but they provide also for the religious wants of the entire population by churches and preachers, though the church is nowhere maintained by the State, and cannot draw its revenues year by year, whether felt to deserve them or not. In the 36,000 churches of the Union, there is accommodation for 13,850,000 worshippers, and people avail themselves every Sunday of this opportunity to an extent unknown to the lower classes in England.

The Americans, unlike their English brothers, take care of the education of all the white children of the free States, and endeavor to do the same in the South, and not only in the cities, but also in the rural districts. The American government in the States and in Washington does not rest on the exclusive influence of the wealthier classes, but on the education of the people at large. Contrary to English custom, it is the State, not the Church, which provides for the schools; yet secular education has not impaired the religiosity of the people.

As the English, the Americans are chiefly a commercial people; dollars and cents influence them in the same way

as pounds, shillings, and pence influence the English. Wealth, and not the enjoyment of wealth, is, in the old and new country, the principal aim of the life of the many. But with the English there is a class less intent on making money, and sometimes generous in spending, viz., the old aristocracy, which has inherited the accumulated riches of many generations. In America there is no such class; to favor the eldest son is not countenanced either by laws or by customs of the people; equal partition amongst the children is the law and the habit of the country. Wealth, therefore, changes hands rapidly. And yet the great bulk of Americans, though covetous of gain, are, on the whole, more generous than the English. To those who doubt this fact, we point to the enormous amount of the numerous and continuous gifts and contributions for churches, hospitals, colleges, libraries, and charitable institutions of every description. The lower classes in America are better educated than in England; they are better off, and kind-heartedness and generosity are always characteristic with those who earn their livelihood by their labors and not by their capital. Moreover, the democratic institutions of universal suffrage, and the frequent elections, make the wealthy classes dependent on the working people for attaining honors; with universal suffrage individual bribery is impossible; one way, therefore, to get popularity, is the establishment of institutions for the public.

The Englishman is proud; he does not care whether he is liked or disliked by other nations, satisfied that he must be respected. The social world for him does not extend beyond his island, and he keeps aloof from foreigners. Clinging to his own manners and customs, and mode of thinking, he is exclusive and conservative. His self-confidence is too great to be disturbed in any way; he therefore does not care for ridicule; he laughs heartily when his follies are caricatured, he never fears that foreigners

could influence his turn of mind, and he allows therefore, without restraint, all the exiles of Europe, however he may detest their principles, to live upon their own means and exertions on English soil. He occasionally gives them alms, but seldom stretches out his hand to put them in the way of helping themselves; few only take the trouble of sparing time and thought to a foreigner, in the country where the pressure of applicants for every sort of employment is so strong. Whatever may be the talent or distinction of the alien, he never can be wholly naturalized in the society of England. The higher classes are disposed to regard him with kindness and interest, though never with the feeling of full equality; but the working classes dislike the immigrant, as a rival on the field of competition. Even the law naturalizes him but partially; he can become a voter or a municipal officer, but neither a judge nor a representative. Yet that which the habits of the most refined society do not concede to rank, talent and distinction, and what the law of the first country of Europe does not grant, *equality*, can be got by wealth acquired in the manufacturing and commercial line. The foreign-born wealthy banker, manufacturer and merchant, is considered the equal of the English banker, manufacturer and merchant; they require one another.

In the United States all this is different. The American has not the pride of exclusiveness. Well aware that he is the son of a young and growing country, his ambition is to see it radiant with the concentrated glory of the whole world. For him, every accession of power is welcome, from wheresoever it comes. The immigrant is, therefore, no stranger to him; he does not feel his rivalry,—it is a fellow-workman for American greatness. From the moment of landing, the foreign-born is, in every respect, socially the equal of the native. After a short residence, the law opens to the new citizen every career of honor, and with-

holds but one post from him, that of President of the United States. The manners and customs of the United States give life to the law, and in the Senate at Washington we see Irish, French and Germans, sent by the confidence of the native citizens to the highest council of the nation. The adopted son of the country shares all the rights and advantages of the son of America. But the same ambition which renders the American so liberal towards the new-comers, makes the intercourse with him often unpleasant to the European. Many of the citizens of the United States really believe that they have already attained the perfection at which they aim; they, in consequence, are boasting and bragging, and mention the greatness of their country, and the superiority of their institutions, so often and on such petty occasions, that they become ludicrous, and convey the impression as if it were vanity and not ambition which ruled them. They are touchy in the highest degree; they can bear earnest reproach, but never ridicule; and in this respect it is worthy to be remarked, that all over the Union there is not one single satirical paper, like the English Punch or the French Charivari. Their political caricatures are few, circulated almost exclusively amongst the higher society in the large commercial cities. Wit and criticism are not the endowments of a young people; they flourish only in old communities when the creative genius begins to decline, when knowledge has accumulated and taste has become fastidious.

The eloquence of the two countries bears the stamp of their age. In the palace of Westminster the palm of oratory is given to those who make clear and logical statements, in which cool reason analyzes concisely the facts of the case, its causes and consequences. The next effort is to unveil the errors of the opponent, and to cover him with ridicule. Wit, irony, and sometimes invective, are the most usual weapons employed in Parliamentary struggle.

Appeals to the feelings or to the passions are rare; adorned eloquence is not congenial to the English taste of the present age, which is evidently that of criticism. Gradual reform of abuses is its watch-word; constructiveness, genius, and freshness of mind seem to have passed away from the English statesmen. They are men of *routine*, and they snub and put down men of new ideas. Therefore, whenever new institutions are to be introduced, either because the old ones are too rotten in their foundations to be mended,—as in Ireland; or because new communities have grown up with new wants,—as in the Colonies; parliamentary wisdom is always blundering, in spite of its omnipotence.

America, on the contrary, is a young country; reform cannot yet be the principal object of her policy, because abuses have not yet had time to grow. The gigantic expansion of the country; the growth of new Commonwealths under the most different circumstances; the complications with foreign governments, unavoidable in an enterprising Democratic community; the antagonism of the white, red, and black races within the territory of the Union; and the difference of interests among the commercial, agricultural, planting and mining States, give an immense field to the creative genius, and call it forth from amidst all classes of the young and vigorous nation. American eloquence bears, therefore, a peculiar stamp. Even the coolest reasoner often appeals to the passions; the Northern Frée Soiler hurls his defiance against the written law, and points to the law of God; the Southern slaveholder thunders forth the threat of secession; the States of the Mississippi basin accuse the sea-cost States—the Old Thirteen—for their exclusive commercial policy, which leaves the resources of the West undeveloped; and the facility with which a community like that of the Mormons has increased and nearly grown into a sovereign State,

would appal every nervous statesman. Vital interests are at stake in the Capitol at Washington, and great occasions engender great men; they never lack the opportunity for displaying their talents. But the crowd of their numerous imitators, anxious to rival them, sink into the bottomless sea of verbiage and false pathos; unable to grapple with the difficulties, they describe them with exaggerating grandiloquence, and hide with flowers of oratory the shallowness of their ideas.

The English nation is eminently conservative. It has attained the highest position to which it has aspired; it has now only to maintain it, in politics and in literature. New ideas, and even new words, are disliked in England; society is settled, and fears to be disturbed; the most necessary reforms are carried slowly, and with timorous hands. In America, the spirit of progress is bold, and often encroaching; with the exception of the Southern society, it changes its aspect incessantly; new ideas easily get a fair chance of being practically tried; the public at large does not shrink from testing at once different solutions of a political problem, and the sovereignty of the States affords great opportunity for it. New words are coined by the dozen; the old oak of the Anglo-Norman language still sprouts here as sprightly as it did in England three centuries ago, and though many of the leaves will soon wither and fall, others will remain as verdant as those which adorn the cisatlantic branches of the mighty stem.

The English nation has controlled its fighting propensities by its financial prudence,—though in India, China, or Kaffraria they plunge sometimes into war, yet it is always unpopular. Nothing short of an actual attack could induce England to go to war against any first-rate European power, though the army and navy is considerable, and the expenditure for it more than considerable.

The Americans give vent to their fighting propensities; no large national debt deters them from war; their army is small, not exceeding 11,000 men, the officers included; just as many as are required for the defence of Texas, New Mexico, California and Oregon against the Indians. Yet the nation is warlike; in case of emergency hundreds of thousands of volunteers are ready to encounter the perils of a campaign. War is popular with the great bulk of the nation.

In England the people is divided into classes, almost into castes. Political equality is unknown here, and though individuals of the lower classes have the liberty to rise, step by step, to the highest caste; though the younger sons of the aristocracy often descend to the grade of professional men, yet the hierarchy of rank and classes is never disturbed by these changes. Every individual divests himself of his former caste by entering the higher one. The traditional reverence for social rank and station without regard to the individual who holds them, has become one of the principal features of English life. Equality is the life-blood of American society. Every attempt of the Whigs to establish a social aristocracy of birth and wealth, has always failed. Society is not divided into classes, but only into coteries. The family of the wealthy naturally associate with their equals in wealth, the poor with the poor; yet the political dependency of the rich on the working men, makes all exclusiveness impossible.

The steadiness of English society, a necessary consequence of aristocratic institutions and habits, makes the English generally reserved and not easily excitable. The same cause gives stability to their views and inclinations. They are slow to promise, but you can depend upon them, they generally keep their word. It is difficult to get an English friend, but he remains a friend for life. The American character is more amiable, though often

less reliable. The Americans are cordial, frank, anxious to oblige, and ready to make friends. In the fulness of their heart, they generally promise more than they can keep. Easily excited, they are not seldom deceived by their impressions, which, therefore, are often only transient.

The English bear the stamp of the ancient Doric tribe, the Americans that of the Ionian.

The danger of England is principally her pedantry and her materialism, which threaten to stifle the higher sentiments of morality and patriotism. She has become demoralized by her own conquests to such a degree, that she does not know how to appreciate political right and wrong, except by the gross standard of energetic administration. She has conquered India, and keeps possession principally by force. The inward consciousness of this immoral position palsies the protest of her statesmen against other despotisms, which may revolt their hearts, and yet will not call forth their effective opposition. How a King or Emperor *gets* power, they have ceased to care; how he *uses* it is their only concern. And as foreign powers touch them only in the matter of commerce, the prevalent test of good or bad foreign governments is found in their commercial policy. Let Napoleon the Third become a free-trader, and all his crimes will be forgotten. And as the English imagine it necessary for all other nations, if they are to become free, to be free after their model, it is so impossible to convince an Englishman that royalty and parliamentary government are in the greater nations of the continent *essentially incompatible*, he treats foreigners as bad and dangerous men, only because they struggle for justice and law in the only form in which they see a chance of getting it. By this narrowness the Englishman gets thrown into the scale of foreign despots, as soon as their wickedness has made all compromise with royal preten-

sions impossible; and there is imminent danger that England may yet disgrace herself by a timid subservience to powers which will undermine or overthrow all her institutions the moment they are able. The English are too proud to fear this, or too ignorant: at any rate, there is moral mischief to themselves in their present position. Their forefathers bled for liberty and bequeathed it to them. They enjoy it, but have no longer to struggle for it. They enslave others in the far East. They cease to sympathize with the struggles of liberty, at least if sympathy is ever to imply active aid. They measure the good and evil of States by success or pecuniary standards. They justify usurpation when successful, and rebellion when successful. But a nation which has lost the sense of national right and wrong—a nation with which the nobler feelings and aspirations are subordinate to the cupidity of acquiring national wealth; a generation which has no longer devotion to principles, if they claim great sacrifices, is near to the path of decline. Let the English beware not to be carried thither by Utilitarianism; let them guard the sacred fire of moral principles, lest selfishness and the all-absorbing care for material interests should extinguish it.

The Americans are in a similar danger by their vanity. The watch-word, "Our country, our State, right or wrong," this baneful word, borrowed from the French, has been carried across the Atlantic, and threatens to confuse their notions of right and wrong. The fabric of their institutions was founded on the rock of religious principles and self-denial; the patriotic devotion of their revolutionary fathers, and the unselfishness of Washington, has raised it to commanding grandeur. Let the Americans beware, lest obstinate ambition and misunderstood patriotism, which disregard moral right and wrong at home and abroad, undermine the foundations of the noble temple of

their liberties. May both nations remember that the buyers and sellers and money-changers belonged to the market, and were driven from the temple.

II. THE GUEST OF THE UNITED STATES.

The English public has been taught by the correspondents of the *Times* and of the *Daily News* that Kossuth's visit to the United States was a "failure." Both expected that he would avail himself of his popularity to get a grant of land for himself and his countrymen to live there in comfortable ease, sentimentally remembering his country, and making money and political capital out of the disasters of Hungary. They were disappointed to see that he took a different course, spurning the advantages offered to him as an individual, and that his burning eloquence was still enlisted in the cause of European liberty. They felt the influence he got over the hearts of the Americans, and fearing its result, they attempted to stifle it at least in England, well aware that with practical English gentlemen nothing destroys the reputation more effectively than lack of success.

The simple enumeration of facts, connected with Kossuth's visit, will give an opportunity of forming a fair and impartial judgment even now, though the ultimate result is yet veiled.

In the session of 1850–51, the American Congress passed a unanimous vote, on the motion of Senator Foote, to send a steam frigate to Asia Minor for conveying Kossuth to the United States as soon as the Sultan would grant his departure. This practical sign of the interest taken by one of the great powers in the fortune of the Hungarian exile, had considerable influence on the decision of the Divan. Abdul Medjid, seeing that if he yielded to the generous impulses of his heart, his step would be approved and

supported, set Kossuth free. A few days before the great exile reached the shores of the United States, the President, in his usual Message, recommended the arrival of Kossuth to the attention of Congress, and mentioned that it was impossible for the people of America to see with indifference the principles of freedom attacked and baffled.

Kossuth was received at New York with triumphal honors; in Washington, he was greeted by Congress in the same way as Lafayette had been, and introduced officially to the Senate and House of Representatives. There is no statesman in America who did not feel honored, and did not seek, to be introduced to Kossuth. The Secretary of State, the illustrious Webster, took a prominent part in the congressional banquet in honor of the "Nation's Guest," under the chairmanship of the Vice-President of the Republic; the dying Henry Clay, though differing in his views from the policy recommended by Kossuth, wished to see him, and to express his sympathy with the cause Kossuth represents. The Legislatures and Governors of Indiana, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Maine and New York, passed resolutions inviting him to the capitals of the States, and with the exception of Maryland and Tennessee, approved in the most explicit manner, the policy recommended by him to the Union in respect to foreign affairs.

In Illinois, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and nearly all the Southern States, the legislatures were not in session during Kossuth's visit; there were only three of them which were in session and yet took no action in the cause of Hungary. These three were Kentucky, Louisiana, and Alabama; but the chief cities of those States invited and honored him. There is no city of note in the Union, with the exception of Savannah, (Georgia,) Charleston, (South Carolina,) Wilmington, (North Carolina,) and Richmond,

(Virginia,) which did not send deputations and addresses to hail his arrival, and to give their adhesion to his doctrines. The Protestant clergy of all denominations gave the blessing of religion to his words, and the population rallied enthusiastically around him; nor could the violent opposition of the Jesuits, and of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the reproaches of the Garrison Abolitionists, or the coolness of the South, dam up the great movement. Even the reserved Presidential Democratic candidate, now the President elect, Frank Pierce, broke the silence which he kept on every other subject, and wrote on the 13th of June to the citizens of Philadelphia, who invited him to the celebration of the anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence:

"IT IS WELL THAT IN THE MIDST OF OUR CONGRATULATION WE REMEMBER, THAT IN THE WEAKNESS OF OUR INFANCY AS A PEOPLE, NOT ONLY WORDS OF CHEERING WERE SENT ACROSS THE OCEAN TO GREET US, BUT UPON ITS BOSOM WERE BORNE TO OUR SHORES HEARTS TO SYMPATHIZE AND ARMS TO STRIKE."

The Old Hunkers and the Silver Greys were alarmed; they felt how deep the impression is, which Kossuth has made; and President Fillmore, seeing power slipping from his hands and from those of his party and coterie, found it necessary to warn the people in his last address against "its generous impulses," and against any alteration in the foreign policy of the Union. Involuntarily he paid the highest tribute to the genius of Kossuth, bearing evidence to the influence of the foreigner.

Another eminent statesman of the same color speaks in the following manner of this memorable visit:

"A wandering exile from the banks of the Danube embarks for America. Fresh from a long and cruel imprisonment, he comes to thank our government and our people for the sympathy and succor to which, in part, he had

owed his liberation. A Shakspeare and a Johnson's Dictionary, carefully studied during a previous confinement, have sufficed to furnish him with a better stock of English than is possessed by the great majority of those to whom it is native,—and he comes to pour forth in our own tongue the bitter sorrows and the stern resolves which had been so long pent up within his own aching breast. He comes to pray a great and powerful people to aid and avenge his down-trodden country. He lands upon our shores. He puts forth his plea. He speaks. And within one week from his first uttered word, the whole mind and heart and soul of this vast nation is impressed and agitated. Domestic interests are forgotten; domestic strifes are hushed. Questions of commerce, and questions of compromise, and questions of candidacy, are postponed. New thoughts take possession of all our minds. New words are in all our mouths. A new mission for our country is seriously mooted. The great name, the greater principles of Washington, are suffered to be drawn into dispute, and even to be derided as temporary. And, for a moment, the ship of State seems reeling before the blast, and trembling, as for a fatal plunge, upon the verge of an unfathomed and unfathomable vortex,—while the voices of many an agonized patriot are heard exclaiming, as Horace exclaimed to the Roman Republic:

> "'Oh navis, referent in mare te novi
> Fluctus. O, quid agis? fortiter occupa
> Portum: nonne vides, ut
> Nudum remigio latus,
> Et malus celeri saucius *Africo*,
> Antennæque gemunt:
> Tu, nisi ventis
> Debes ludibrium, lave.'

. . . . "Kossuth will be remembered by many of us, as he has been received by us all, with the kindness, the respect,

and even the admiration, which a man of real genius, of marvellous eloquence, of indomitable energy, hoping against hope, refusing to despair under circumstances of desperation, struggling against fate and in a holy cause, could never fail to inspire. But the great moral of his visit, the great lesson which he has left behind him, and one never to be forgotten, is that of the power of a single individual, of one earnest and heroic man, by the simple enginery of the tongue and the pen, to shake the solid mind of a whole nation, to agitate the mighty heart of a vast continent, and even to affect and modify the public opinion and the public affairs of the world."*

Such is the voice of those American statesmen who *oppose* the doctrines of Kossuth, and struggle against his influence, which they cannot deny. And yet the correspondents of the leading papers in England call Kossuth's visit to the United States a failure.

* Robert C. Winthrop, in his Address to the Association of the Alumni of Harvard College.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

I. CHANCELLOR HARPER'S VINDICATION OF SLAVERY.

The Southerners used to complain that not only the character of their "peculiar institution" is misrepresented abroad, but that even their views on the subject are utterly ignored in the free States and in Europe. As a friend of fair-play, I think it, therefore, my duty to give an extract of Chancellor Harper's Memoirs on Slavery, which I have curtailed only so far as its bulk exceeded the limits of the space I could allow it in a publication on America, and not exclusively on the South. Amongst the numerous defences of slavery, which I met with in the Union, I have found the following one of the most able:

"The institution of domestic slavery exists over far the greater portion of the inhabited earth. Until within a very few centuries, it may be said to have existed over the whole earth—at least in all those portions of it which had made any advances toward civilization. We might safely conclude, then, that it is deeply founded in the nature of man and the exigencies of human society. Yet in the few countries in which it has been abolished, claiming, perhaps justly, to be farthest advanced in civilization and intelligence, but which have had the smallest opportunity of observing its true character and effects, it is denounced as the most intolerable of social and political evils. Its existence, and every hour of its continuance, is regarded as the crime of the communities in which it is found. Even by those in the countries alluded to, who regard it with the most indulgence or the least abhorrence, who attribute no criminality to the present generation, who found it in existence, and have not yet been able to devise the means of abolishing it—it is pronounced a misfortune, and a curse injurious and dangerous always, and which must be finally fatal to the societies which admit it. This is no longer regarded as a subject of argument and investigation. The opinions referred to are assumed as settled, or the truth of them as self-evident. If any voice is raised amongst ourselves to extenuate or to vindicate, it is unheard. The judgment is made up. We can have no hearing before the tribunal of the civilized world . . .

"President Dew has shown that the institution of slavery is a *principal* cause of civilization. Perhaps nothing can be more evident, than, that it is the *sole* cause. If anything can be predicated as universally true of uncultivated man, it is, that he will not labor beyond what is absolutely necessary to maintain his existence. Labor is pain to those who are not accustomed to it, and the nature of man is averse to pain. Even with all the training, the helps and motives of civilization, we find that this aversion cannot be overcome in many individuals of the most cultivated societies. The coercion of slavery alone is adequate to form man to habits of labor. Without it there can be no accumulation of property, no providence for the future, no taste for comforts or elegancies, which are the characteristics and essentials of civilization. He who has obtained the command of another's labor, first begins to accumulate and provide for the future, and the foundations of civilization are laid. We find confirmed by experience that which is so evident in theory. Since the existence of man upon the earth, with no exception whatever, either of ancient or modern times, every society which has attained civilization, has advanced to it through this process.

"Will those who regard slavery as immoral, or crime in itself, tell us that man was not intended for civilization, but to roam the earth as a biped brute? That he is not to raise his eyes to heaven, or be conformed in his nobler faculties to the image of his Maker? . . . .

"There seems to be something in this subject which blunts the perceptions, and darkens and confuses the understandings and moral feelings of men. Tell them that, of necessity, in every civilized society, there must be an infinite variety of conditions and employments, from the most eminent and intellectual to the most servile and laborious; that the negro race, from their temperament and capacity, are peculiarly suited to the situation which they occupy, and not less happy in it than any other corresponding class to be found in the world, prove, incontestably, that no scheme of emancipation could be carried into effect without the most intolerable mischiefs and calamities to both master and slave, or without probably throwing a large and fertile portion of the earth's surface out of the pale of civilization—and you have done nothing. They reply, that whatever may be the consequence, you are bound to do *right;* that man has a right to himself, and man cannot have a property in man; that if the negro race be naturally inferior in mind and character, they are not less entitled to the right of humanity; that if they are happy in their condition, it affords but the stronger evidence of their degradation, and renders them, still more, objects of commiseration. They repeat, as the fun-

damental maxim of our civil policy, that all men are born free and equal, and quote from our Declaration of Independence, 'That men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable *rights*, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"*All men are born free and equal.* Is it not palpably nearer the truth to say, that no man was ever born free, and that no two men were ever born equal? Man is born in a state of the most helpless dependence on others. He continues subject to the most absolute control of others, and remains without many of the civil and all of the political, privileges of his society, until the period which the laws had fixed as that at which he is supposed to attain the maturity of his faculties. Then inequality is further developed, and becomes infinite in every society and under whatever form of government. Wealth and poverty, fame or obscurity, strength or weakness, knowledge or ignorance, ease or labor, power or subjection, make the endless diversity in the condition of men. Man is born to subjection. Not only during infancy is he dependent and under the control of others; at all ages it is the very basis of his nature, that the strong and wise should control the weak and ignorant. So it has been since the days of Nimrod. The existence of some form of slavery in all ages and countries, is proof enough of this. He is born to subjection as he is born in sin and ignorance. To make any considerable progress in knowledge, the continued efforts of successive generations, and the diligent training and unwearied exertions of the individual, are requisite. To make progress in moral virtue, not less time and effort, aided by superior help, are necessary; and it is only by the matured exercise of his knowledge and his virtue that he can attain to civil freedom. Of all things, the existence of civil liberty is most the result of artificial institution. The proclivity of the natural man is to domineer or to be subservient. A noble result, indeed; but, in the attaining of which, as in the instances of knowledge and virtue, the Creator, for his own purposes, has set a limit, beyond which we cannot go.

"But he who is most advanced in knowledge is most sensible of his own ignorance, and how much must forever be unknown to man in his present condition. As I have heard it expressed, the further you extend the circle of light, the wider is the horizon of darkness. He who has made the greatest progress in moral purity is most sensible of the depravity, not only of the world around him, but of his own heart, and the imperfection of his best motives; and this he knows, that men must feel and lament, so long as they continue men. So, when the greatest progress in civil liberty has been made, the enlightened lover

of liberty will know that there must remain much inequality, much injustice, much *slavery*, which no human wisdom or virtue will ever be able wholly to prevent or redress. The condition of our whole existence is but to struggle with evils—to compare them—to choose between them—and, so far as we can, to mitigate them. To say there is evil in any institution, is only to say that it is human.

"And can we doubt but that this long discipline and laborious process, by which men are required to work out the improvement and elevation of their individual nature and their social condition, is imposed for a great and benevolent end? Our faculties are not adequate to the solution of the mystery, why it should be so; but the truth is clear, that the world was not intended for the seat of universal knowledge, or goodness, or happiness, or freedom.

"*Man has been endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.* What is meant by the *inalienable* right of liberty? Has any one who has used the words ever asked himself this question? Does it mean that a man has no right to alienate his own liberty—to sell himself and his posterity for slaves? This would seem to be the more obvious meaning. When the word *right* is used, it has reference to some law which sanctions it, and would be violated by its invasion; it must refer either to the general law of morality or the law of the country—the law of God or the law of man. If the law of any country permitted it, it would of course be absurd to say that the law of that country was violated by such alienation. If it have any meaning in this respect, it must mean that, though the law of the country permitted it, the man would be guilty of an immoral act who should thus alienate his liberty. A fit question for schoolmen to discuss, and the consequences resulting from its decision as important as from any of theirs. Yet, who will say that the man, pressed by famine and in the prospect of death, would be criminal for such an act? *Self-preservation*, as is truly said, *is the first law of nature.* High and peculiar characters, by elaborate cultivation, may be taught to prefer death to slavery, but it would be folly to prescribe this as a duty to the mass of mankind.

"If any rational meaning can be attributed to the sentence I have quoted, it is this: that the society, or the individuals who exercise the powers of government, are guilty of a violation of the law of God or of morality, when, by any law or public act, they deprive men of life and liberty for offences against society. Restrain them in the pursuit of happiness! Why, all the laws of society are intended for nothing else but to restrain men from the pursuit of happiness, according to

their own ideas of happiness or advantage, which the phrase must mean if it means any thing. And by what right does society punish by the loss of life or liberty? Not on account of the moral guilt of the criminal—not by impiously and arrogantly assuming the prerogative of the Almighty, to dispense justice or suffering, according to moral desert. It is for its own protection—it is the right of self-defence. If there existed the blackest moral turpitude, which, by its example or consequences, could be of no evil to society—government would have nothing to do with that. If an action, the most harmless in its moral character, could be dangerous to the security of society, society would have the perfect right to punish it. If the possession of a black skin would be otherwise dangerous to society—society has the same right to protect itself, by disfranchising the possessor of civil privileges, and to continue the disability to his posterity, if the same danger would be incurred by its removal. Society inflicts these forfeitures for the security of the lives of its members; it inflicts them for the security of their property, the great essential of civilization; it inflicts them also for the protection of its political institutions, the forcible attempt to overturn which, has always been justly regarded as the greatest crime; and who has questioned its right so to inflict? 'Man cannot have property in man'—is a phrase as full of meaning as, 'who slays fat oxen, should himself be fat.' Certainly he may, if the laws of society allow it; and, if it be on sufficient grounds, neither he nor society do wrong.

"And is it by this—as we must call it, however recommended to our higher feelings by its associations—well sounding, but unmeaning verbiage of natural equality and inalienable rights, that our lives are to be put in jeopardy, our property destroyed, and our political institutions overturned or endangered? If a people had on its borders a tribe of barbarians, whom no treaties or faith could bind, and by whose attacks they were constantly endangered, against whom they could devise no security, but that they should be exterminated or enslaved, would they not have the right to enslave them, and keep them in slavery so long as the same danger would be incurred by their manumission? If a civilized man and a savage were by chance placed together on a desolate island, and the former, by the superior power of civilization, could reduce the latter to subjection, would he not have the same right? Would this not be the strictest self-defence? I do not now consider how far we can make out a similar case to justify our enslaving the negroes. I speak to those who contend for inalienable rights, and that the existence of slavery, always and under all circumstances, involves injustice and crime.

"By what right is it that man exercises dominion over the beasts of the field; subdues them to painful labor, or deprives them of life for his sustenance or enjoyment? They are not rational beings. No, but they are the creatures of God, sentient beings, capable of suffering and enjoyment, and entitled to enjoy according to the measure of their capacities. Does not the voice of nature inform every one that he is guilty of wrong when he inflicts on them pain without necessity or object? If their existence be limited to the present life, it affords the stronger argument for affording them the brief enjoyment of which it is capable. It is because the greater good is effected, not only to man but to the inferior animals themselves. The care of man gives the boon of existence to myriads who would never otherwise have enjoyed it, and the enjoyment of their existence is better provided for while it lasts. It belongs to the being of superior faculties to judge of the relations which shall subsist between himself and the inferior animals, and the use he shall make of them, and he may justly consider himself, who has the greater capacity of enjoyment, in the first instance. Yet he must do this conscientiously; and, no doubt, moral guilt has been incurred by the infliction of pain on these animals, with no adequate benefit to be expected. I do no disparagement to the dignity of human nature even in its humblest form, when I say, that on the very same foundation, with the difference only of circumstance and degree, rests the right of civilized and cultivated man over the savage and the ignorant. It is the order of nature and of God, that the being of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature, that men should enslave each other. I admit that he does this under the highest moral responsibility, and is most guilty if he wantonly inflicts misery or privations on beings more capable of enjoyment or of suffering than brutes, without necessity or any view to the greater good which is to result. If we conceive of society existing without government, and that one man, by his superior strength, courage, or wisdom, could obtain the mastery of his fellows, he would have a perfect right to do so. He would be morally responsible for the use of his power, and guilty if he failed to direct them so as to promote their happiness as well as his own. Moralists have denounced the injustice and cruelty which have been practised towards our aboriginal Indians, by which they have been driven from their native seats and exterminated, and no doubt with much justice. No doubt much fraud and injustice has been practised, in the circumstances and in the manner of their removal. Yet who has contended that civilized man had no

right to possess himself of the country? that he was bound to leave this wide and fertile continent, which is capable of sustaining uncounted myriads of a civilized race, to a few roving and ignorant barbarians? Yet, if any thing is certain, it is certain that there were no means by which he could possess the country, without exterminating or enslaving them. Savage and civilized man cannot live together, and the savage can only be tamed by being enslaved, or by having slaves. By enslaving alone, could we have preserved them? And who shall take upon himself to decide that the more benevolent course, and the more pleasing to God, was pursued towards them, or that it would not have been better that they had been enslaved generally, as they were in particular instances? It is a refined philosophy and utterly false in its application to general nature or to the mass of human kind, which teaches that existence is not the greatest of boons, and worthy of being preserved even under the most adverse circumstances. The African slave-trade has given, and will give, the boon of existence to millions and millions in our country, who would, otherwise, never have enjoyed it, and the enjoyment of their existence is better provided for while it lasts. Or if, for the rights of man over inferior animals, we are referred to Revelation, which pronounces: 'Ye shall have dominion over the beasts of the field, and over the fowls of the air,' we refer to the same, which declares not less explicitly:—

"'Both the bondmen and bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are among you. Of them shall you buy bondmen and bondmaids.

"'Moreover, of the children of strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begot in your land, and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them by possession. They shall be your bondmen forever.'

"In moral investigations, ambiguity is often occasioned by confounding the intrinsic nature of an action, as determined by its consequence, with the motives of the actor, involving moral guilt or innocence. If poison be given with a view to destroy another, and it cures him of disease, the poisoner is guilty, but the act is beneficent in its results. If medicine be given with a view to heal, and it happens to kill, he who administered it is innocent, but the act is a noxious one. If they who began and prosecuted the slave-trade, practised horrible cruelties and inflicted much suffering—as no doubt they did, though these have been much exaggerated—for merely selfish purposes, and with no view to future good, they were morally most guilty. So far as unnecessary

cruelty was practised, the motive and the act were alike bad. But if we could be sure that the entire effect of the trade has been to produce more happiness than would otherwise have existed, we must pronounce it good, and that it has happened in the ordering of God's providence, to whom evil cannot be imputed. Moral guilt has not been imputed to Las Cases; and if the importation of African slaves into America had the effect of preventing more suffering than it inflicted, it was good, both in the motive and the result. I freely admit, that it is hardly possible to justify, morally, those who began and carried on the slave-trade. No speculation of future good to be brought about, could compensate the enormous amount of evil it occasioned.

"If we could refer to the common moral sense of mankind, as determined by their conduct in all ages and countries, for a standard of morality, it would seem to be in favor of slavery. . . .

"In considering this subject, I shall not regard it, in the first instance, in reference to the present position of the slaveholding States, or the difficulties which lie in the way of their emancipating their slaves; but as a naked, abstract question—whether it is better that the institution of predial and domestic slavery should, or should not, exist in civilized society. And though some of my remarks may seem to have such a tendency, let me not be understood as taking upon myself to determine that it is better it should exist. God forbid that the responsibility of deciding such a question should ever be thrown on me or my countrymen. But this I will say, and not without confidence, that it is in the power of no human intellect to establish the contrary proposition—that it is better it should *not* exist. This is probably known but to one Being, and concealed from human sagacity.

"There have existed in various ages, and we now see existing in the world, people in every stage of civilization, from the most barbarous to the most refined. Man, as I have said, is not born to civilization. He is born rude and ignorant. But, it will be, I suppose, admitted, that it is the design of the Creator that he should attain to civilization; that religion should be known; that the comforts and elegancies of life should be enjoyed; that letters and art should be cultivated; in short, that there should be the greatest possible development of moral and intellectual excellence. It can hardly be necessary to say anything of those who have extolled the superior virtues and enjoyments of savage life—a life of physical wants and sufferings, of continual insecurity, of furious passions and depraved vices. Those who have praised savage life are those who have known nothing of it, or who have become savages themselves. But as I have said, so far as reason

or universal experience instruct us, the institution of slavery is an essential process in emerging from savage life. It must then produce good, and promote the designs of the Creator.

"I add, further, *that slavery anticipates the benefits of civilization, and retards the evils of civilization.* Property,—the accumulation of capital, as it is commonly called,—is the first elementary civilization. But to accumulate or to use capital to any considerable extent, the combination of labor is necessary. In early stages of society, when people are thinly scattered over an extensive territory, the labor necessary to extensive works cannot be commanded. Men are independent from each other. Having the command of abundance of land, no one will submit to be employed in the service of his neighbor. No one, therefore, can employ more capital than he can use with his own hands, or those of his family, nor have an income much beyond the necessaries of life. There can, therefore, be little leisure for intellectual pursuits or means of acquiring the comforts and elegancies of life. It is hardly necessary to say, however, that if a man has the command of slaves, he may combine labor and use capital to any required extent, and therefore accumulate wealth. An able author shows that no colonies have been successfully planted without some sort of slavery. So we find the fact to be. It is only in the slaveholding States of our confederacy that wealth can be acquired by agriculture, which is the general employment of our whole country. Among us, we know there is no one, however humble his beginning, who, with persevering industry, intelligence, and orderly and virtuous habits, may not attain to considerable opulence. So far as wealth has been accumulated in the States which do not possess slaves, it has been in cities, by the pursuits of commerce, or, lately, by manufactures. But the products of slave labor furnish more than two-thirds of the materials of our foreign commerce, which the industry of those States is employed in transporting and exchanging; and among the slaveholding States is to be found the great market for all the productions of their industry of whatever kind. The prosperity of those States, therefore, and the civilization of their cities, have been, for the most part, created by the existence of slavery. Even in the cities, but for a class of population which our institutions have marked as servile, it would be scarcely possible to preserve the ordinary habitudes of civilized life by commanding the necessary menial and domestic service.

"Every stage of human society, from the most barbarous to the most refined, has its own peculiar evils to mark it as the condition of mortality; and there is, perhaps, none but Omnipotence who can say

in which the scale of good or evil mostly preponderates. We need say nothing of the evils of savage life. There is a state of society, elevated somewhat above it, which is to be found in some of the more thinly populated parts of our own country—the rudest agricultural state—which is thus characterized by an eminent author:—'The American of the backwoods has often been described to the English as grossly ignorant, dirty, unsocial, delighting in rum and tobacco, attached to nothing but his rifle; adventurous, restless, more than half savage. Deprived of social enjoyments or excitements, he has recourse to those of savage life, and becomes (for in this respect the Americans degenerate) unfit for society.' This is no very inviting picture, which, though exaggerated, we know not to be without likeness. The evils of such a state, I suppose, will hardly be thought compensated by unbounded freedom, perfect equality, and ample means of subsistence.

"But let us take another stage in the progress—which, to many, will appear to offer all that is desirable in existence, and realize another Utopia. Let us suppose a state of society in which all shall have property, and there shall be no great inequality of property; in which society shall be so much condensed as to afford the means of social intercourse, without being crowded so as to create difficulty in obtaining the means of subsistence; in which every family that chooses may have as much land as will employ its own hands, whilst others may employ their industry in forming such products as it may be desirable to exchange with them. Schools are generally established, and the rudiments of education universally diffused. Religion is taught, and every village has its church, neat though humble, lifting its spire to heaven. Here is a situation apparently the most favorable to happiness. I say *apparently*, for the greatest source of human misery is not in external circumstances, but in men themselves—in their depraved inclinations, their wayward passions, and perverse wills. Here is room for all the petty competition, the envy, hatred, malice, and dissimulation that torture the heart in what may be supposed the most sophisticated states of society, and, though less marked and offensive, there may be much of the licentiousness.

"But apart from this, in such a condition of society, if there is little suffering, there is little high enjoyment. The even flow of life forbids the high excitement which is necessary for it. If there is little vice, there is little place for the eminent virtues, which employ themselves in controlling the disorders and remedying the evils of society, which like war and revolutions call forth the highest powers of man, whether for good or for evil. If there is little misery, there is little room for

benevolence. Useful public institutions we may suppose to be created, but not such as are merely ornamental. Elegant arts can be little cultivated, for there are no means to reward the artists, nor the higher literature, for no one will have leisure nor means to cultivate it for its own sake. Those who acquire what may be called liberal education, will do so in order to employ it as the means of their own subsistence or advancement in a profession, and literature itself will partake of the sordidness of trade. In short, it is plain that, in such a state of society, the moral and intellectual faculties cannot be cultivated to their highest perfection.

"But whether that which I have described, be the most desirable state of society or no, it is certain that it cannot continue. Mutation and progress is the condition of human affairs. Though retarded for a time by extraordinary or accidental circumstances, the wheel must roll on. The tendency of population is to become crowded, increasing the difficulty of obtaining subsistence. There will be some without any property except the capacity for labor. This they must sell to those who have the means of employing them, thereby swelling the amount of their capital, and increasing inequality. The process still goes on. The number of laborers increase, until there is a difficulty of obtaining employment. The competition is established. The remuneration of the laborer becomes gradually less and less, a larger and larger proportion of the product of his labor goes to swell the fortune of the capitalist; inequality becomes still greater and more invidious, until the process ends in the establishment of such a state of things as is now existing in England."

The author proceeds to give a picture of the evils of pauperism and the consequences of competition.

"It is the competition for employment," he says, "that gives rise to all excellence in art and knowledge. When the demand for labor exceeds the supply, the services of most ordinarily qualified laborers will be eagerly retained. When the supply begins to exceed, and competition is established, higher and higher qualifications will be required, until, at length, when it becomes very intense, none but the most consummately skilful can be sure to be employed. . . . .

"But how is it that the existence of slavery, as with us, will retard the evils of civilization? Very obviously,—it is the intense competition of civilized life, that gives rise to the excessive cheapness of labor, and the excessive cheapness of labor is the cause of the evils in question. Slave-labor can never be so cheap as what is called free-labor. Political economists have established as the actual standard of wages,

in a fully peopled country, the value of the laborer's subsistence.—Where competition is intense, men will labor for a bare subsistence, and less than a competent subsistence. The employer of free laborers obtains their services during the time of their health and vigor, without the charge of rearing them from infancy, or supporting them in sickness, or old age. This charge is imposed on the employer of slave-labor, who, therefore, pays higher wages and cuts off the principal source of misery—the wants and sufferings of misery, sickness, and old age. The laborers, too, will be less skilful and perform less work—embracing the price of that sort of labor. . . . .

"In periods of commercial revulsion and distress, the distress in countries of free-labor, falls princially on the laborers. In those of slave-labor, it falls almost exclusively on the employer. In the former, when a business becomes unprofitable, the employer dismisses his laborers, or lowers their wages. But with us, it is the very period at which we are least able to dismiss our laborers; and if we would not suffer a further loss, we cannot reduce their wages. To receive the benefit of the services of which they are capable, we must provide for maintaining their health and vigor. If the income of every planter of the Southern States were permanently reduced one-half, or even much more than that, it would not take one jot from the support and comforts of the slaves. And this can never be materially altered, until they shall become so unprofitable, that slavery must be of necessity abandoned. It is probable the accumulation of individual wealth will never be carried to quite so great an extent in a slaveholding country, as in one of free-labor; but a consequence will be that there will be less inequality and less suffering.

"*Servitude* is the condition of civilization. It was decreed when the command was given: 'Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it,'—and when it was added, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.' And what human being shall arrogate to himself the authority to pronounce that our form of it is worse in itself, or more displeasing to God, than that which exists elsewhere? . . . .

"That there are great evils in a society where slavery exists, and that the institution is liable to great abuse, I have already said. To say otherwise, would be to say that they were not human. But the whole of human life is a system of evils and compensations. We have no reason to believe that the compensations with us are fewer or smaller in proportion to the evils than those of any other condition of society. Tell me of an evil or abuse; of an instance of cruelty, oppression, licentiousness, crime, or suffering; and I will point out, and

often in five-fold degree, an equivalent evil or abuse in countries where slavery does not exist!

"Let us examine, without blenching, the actual and alleged evils of slavery, and the array of horrors which many suppose to be its universal concomitants. It is said that the slave is out of the protection of the law; that if the law purports to protect him in life and limb, it is but imperfectly executed; that he is still subject to excessive labor, degrading blows, or any sort of torture which a master, pampered and brutalized by the exercise of arbitrary power, may think fit to inflict; he is cut off from the opportunity of intellectual, moral, or religious improvement, and even positive enactments are directed against his acquiring the rudiments of knowledge; he is cut off for ever from the hope of raising his condition in society, whatever may be his merit, talents, or virtues, and therefore deprived of the strongest incentive to useful and praiseworthy exertion; his physical degradation begets a corresponding moral degradation; he is without moral principle, and addicted to the lowest vices, particularly theft and falsehood; if marriage be not disallowed, it is little better than a state of concubinage, from which result general licentiousness, and the want of chastity among females,—this indeed is not protected by law, but is subject to the outrages of brutal lust; both sexes are liable to have their dearest affections violated, to be sold like brutes, husbands to be torn from wives, children from parents. This is the picture commonly presented by the denouncers of slavery.

"It is a somewhat singular fact, that, when there existed in our State no law for punishing the murderer of a slave, other than a pecuniary fine, there were, I will venture to say, at least ten murders of freemen for one murder of a slave. Yet it is supposed they are less protected, or less secure than their masters. Why, they are protected by their very situation in society, and therefore less need the protection of law. With any other person than their master, it is hardly possible for them to come in such sort of collision as usually gives rise to furious and revengeful passions; they offer no temptation to the murderer for gain; against the master himself they have the security of his own interest, and by his superintendence and authority they are protected from the revengeful passions of each other. I am by no means sure that the cause of humanity has been served by the change in jurisprudence, which has placed their murder on the same footing with that of a freeman. From the fact which I have stated, it is plain that they less need protection. Juries are, therefore, less willing to convict, and it may sometimes happen that the guilty will escape all punishment.

Security is one of the compensations of their humble position. We challenge the comparison, that, with us, there have been fewer murders of slaves than of parents, children, apprentices, and other murders, cruel and unnatural, in society where slavery does not exist. . . .

"But, short of life and limb, various cruelties may be practised, as the passions of the master may dictate. To this the same reply has been often given, that they are secured by the master's interest. If the state of slavery is to exist at all, the master must have, and ought to have, such power of punishment as will compel them to perform the duties of their station. And is not this for their advantage as well as his? No human being can be contented who doest not perform the duties of his station. Has the master any temptation to go beyond this? If he inflicts on him such punishment as will permanently impair his strength, he inflicts a loss upon himself; and so if he requires of him excessive labor. Compare the labor required of the slave with those of the free agricultural or manufacturing laborer in Europe, or even in the more thickly-peopled portions of the non-slaveholding States of our confederacy, though these last are no fair subjects of comparison; they enjoying, as I have said, in a great degree, the advantages of slavery, along with those of an early and simple state of society. Read the English Parliamentary Reports, on the condition of the manufacturing operatives, and the children employed in factories. And such is the impotence of man to remedy the evils which the condition of his existence has imposed on him, that it is much to be doubted whether the attempts by legislation to improve their situation will not aggravate its evils. They resort to this excessive labor as a choice of evils. If so, the amount of their compensation will be lessened also with the diminished labor; for this is a matter which legislation cannot regulate. Is it the part of benevolence, then, to cut them off even from this miserable liberty of choice? Yet would these evils exist in the same degree, if the laborers were the *property* of the master, having a direct interest in preserving their lives, their health, and strength? . . . . Compare the whole of cruelties inflicted on slaves throughout our Southern country with those elsewhere inflicted, by ignorant and depraved portions of the community, on those whom the relations of society put into their power; of brutal husbands on their wives; of brutal parents – subdued against the strongest instincts of nature to that brutality by the extremity of their misery—on their children; of brutal masters on apprentices. And if it should be asked, are not similar cruelties inflicted and miseries endured in your societies? I answer, in no com-

parable degree. The class in question are placed under the control of others, who are interested to restrain their excesses of cruelty or rage. Wives are protected from their husbands, and children from their parents. And this is no inconsiderable compensation of the evils of our system; and would so appear, if we could form any conception of the immense amount of misery which is elsewhere thus inflicted. The other class of society, more elevated in their position, are also (speaking of course in the general) more elevated in character, and more responsible to public opinion.

"But besides the interest of their master, there is another security against cruelty. The relation of master and slave, when there is no mischievous interference between them, is, as the experience of all the world declares, naturally one of kindness. As to the fact, we should be held interested witnesses, but we appeal to universal nature. Is it not natural that a man should be attached to that which is *his own*, and which has contributed to his convenience, his enjoyment, or his vanity? This is felt even towards animals and inanimate objects. How much more towards a being of superior intelligence and usefulness, who can appreciate our feelings towards him, and return them! Is it not natural that we should be interested in that which is dependent on us for protection and support? Do not men everywhere contract kind feelings towards their dependents? Is it not natural that men should be more attached to those whom they have long known—whom, perhaps, they have reared or been associated with from infancy—than to one with whom their connection has been casual and temporary? What is there in our atmosphere or institutions to produce a perversion of the general feelings of nature? To be sure, in this, as in all other relations, there is frequent cause of offence or excitement—on one side for some omission of duty; on the other, on account of reproof or punishment inflicted. But this is common to the relation of parent and child; and I will venture to say, that if punishment be justly inflicted—and there is no temptation to inflict it unjustly—it is as little likely to occasion permanent estrangement or resentment as in that case. Slaves are perpetual children. It is not the common nature of man, unless it be depraved by its own misery, to delight in witnessing pain. It is more grateful to behold contented and cheerful beings than sullen and wretched ones. That men are sometimes wayward, depraved, and brutal, we know. But that the institution of slavery has a natural tendency to form such a character, that such crimes are more common or more aggravated than in other states of society, or produce among us less surprise or horror,

we utterly deny, and challenge the comparison. Indeed, I have little hesitation in saying, that if full evidence could be obtained, the comparison would result in our favor, and that the tendency of slavery is rather to humanize than to brutalize.

"It is true that the slave is driven to labor by stripes; and if the object of punishment be to produce obedience or reformation, with the least permanent injury, it is the best method of punishment. But is it not intolerable that a being formed in the image of his Maker should be degraded by *blows?* Such punishment would be degrading to a freeman, who had the thoughts and aspirations of a freeman. In general, it is not degrading to a slave, nor is it felt to be so. The evil is the bodily pain. Is it degrading to a child? Or if, in any particular instance, it would be so felt, it is sure not to be inflicted, unless in those rare cases which constitute the startling and eccentric evils, from which no society is exempt, and against which no institutions of society can provide."

Chancellor Harper replies to the objection, that the slave is cut off from the means of intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and that, in consequence, his moral character becomes degraded, in the following terms:—

"The slave receives such instruction as qualifies him to discharge the duties of his peculiar station. The Creator did not intend that every individual human being should be highly cultivated, morally and intellectually; for, as we have seen, he has imposed conditions on society which would render this impossible. There must be general mediocrity, or the highest cultivation must exist along with ignorance, vice, and degradation. But is there, in the aggregate of society, less opportunity for intellectual and moral cultivation on account of the existence of slavery? We must estimate institutions from their aggregate of good or evil. It is by the existence of slavery, exempting so large a portion of our citizens from the necessity of bodily labor, that we have a greater proportion than any other people who have leisure for intellectual pursuits, and the means of obtaining a liberal education. If we throw away this opportunity, the blame will rest on ourselves, and not on the character of our institutions. . . . .

"I add, further, notwithstanding that equality seems to be the passion of the day, if, as Providence has evidently decreed, there can be but a certain portion of intellectual excellence in any community, it is better that it should be unequally divided. It is better that a part should be fully and highly cultivated, and the rest utterly ignorant. . . . .

"Odium has been cast upon our legislation, on account of its forbidding the elements of education to be communicated to slaves. But, in truth, what injury is done to them by this? He, who works during the day with his hands, does not read in intervals of leisure for his amusement or the improvement of his mind,—or the exceptions are so very rare as scarcely to need the being provided for. Of the many slaves whom I have known capable of reading, I have never known one to read anything but the Bible, and this task they impose on themselves as matter of duty. Of all methods of religious instruction, however, this of reading for themselves, would be the most inefficient—their comprehension is defective, and the employment is to them an unusual and laborious one. There are but few, who do not enjoy other means, more effectual for religious instruction. There is no place of worship opened for the white population from which they are excluded. Their minds, generally, show a strong religious tendency, and they are fond of assuming the office of religious instructors to each other; and perhaps their religious notions are not much more extravagant than those of a large portion of the free population of our country. It is certainly the master's *interest* that they should have proper religious sentiments, and if he fails in his duty towards them, we may be sure that the consequences will be visited not upon them, but upon him. . . . .

"If there were any chance of their elevating their rank and condition in society, it might be a matter of hardship that they should be debarred those rudiments of knowledge, which open the way to further attainments. But this they know cannot be, and that further attainments would be useless to them. A knowledge of reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic is convenient and important to the free laborer, who is the transactor of his own affairs, and the guardian of his own interests; but of what use would they be to the slave? These alone do not elevate the mind or character, if such elevation were desirable.

"If we estimate their morals according to that which should be the standard of a free man's morality, then I grant they are degraded in morals, though by no means to the extent which those who are unacquainted with the institution seem to suppose. The degradation of morals relates principally to loose notions of honesty, leading to petty thefts, to falsehood, and to licentious intercourse between the sexes. Though with respect even to these, I protest against the opinion, which seems to be elsewhere entertained, that they are universal, or that slaves, in respect to them, might well bear a comparison with the low-

est laborious class of other countries. But certainly there is much dishonesty, leading to petty thefts. It leads, however, to nothing else. They have no contracts or dealing which might be a temptation to fraud, nor do I know that their characters have any tendency that way. They are restrained by the constant, vigilant, and interested superintendence which is exercised over them, from the commission of offences of greater magnitude, even if they were disposed to them, which I am satisfied they are not. Nothing is so rarely heard of as an atrocious crime committed by a slave; especially since they have worn off the savage character which their progenitors brought with them from Africa. Their offences are confined to petty depredations, principally for the gratification of their appetites; and these, for reasons already given, are chiefly confined to the property of their owner, which is most exposed to them. They could make no use of a considerable booty, if they should obtain it. It is plain that this is a less evil to society, in its consequences and example, than if committed by a free man, who is a master of his own time and actions. With reference to society, then, the offence is less in itself—and may we not hope it is less in the sight of God? A slave has no hope that, by a course of integrity, he can materially elevate his condition in society, nor can his offence materially depress it, or affect his means of support or that of his family. Compared to the free man, he has no character to establish or to lose. He has not been exercised to self-government, and, being without intellectual resources, can less resist the solicitations of appetite. Theft in a free man is a crime; in a slave, it is a vice. I recollect to have heard it said, in reference to some question of a slave's theft which was agitated in a court—'Courts of justice have no more to do with a slave's stealing than with his lying—this is a matter for the domestic forum.' It was truly said, the theft of a slave is no offence against society. Compare all the evils resulting from this, with the enormous amount of vice, crime, and depravity which in an European, or one of our northern cities, disgusts the moral feeling, and renders life and property insecure. So with respect to his falsehood. I have never heard or observed that slaves have any particular proclivity to falsehood, unless it be in denying or concealing their own offences, or those of their fellows. I have never heard of falsehood told by a slave for a malicious purpose. Lies of vanity are sometimes told, as among the weak and ignorant of other conditions. Falsehood is not attributed to an individual charged with an offence before a court of justice, who pleads *not guilty;* and certainly the strong temptation to escape punishment, in the highest degree extenuates, if it does not ex-

cuse, falsehood told by a *slave*. If the object be to screen a fellow slave, the act bears some semblance of fidelity, and perhaps truth could not be told without breach of confidence. I know not how to characterize the falsehood of a slave.

"It has often been said by the denouncers of slavery, that marriage does not exist among slaves. It is difficult to understand this unless wilful falsehood were intended. We know that marriages are contracted; may be, and often are, solemnized with the forms usual among other classes of society, and often faithfully adhered to during life. The law has not provided for making those marriages indissoluble, nor could it do so. If a man abandons his wife, being without property, and being both property themselves, he cannot be required to maintain her. If he abandons his wife, and lives in a state of concubinage with another, the law cannot punish him for bigamy. Yet let us not deny or extenuate the truth. It is true that in this respect the morals of this class are very loose (by no means so universally so as is often supposed,) and that the passions of men of the superior caste tempt and find gratification in the easy chastity of the females. This is evil, and to be remedied, if we can do so without the introduction of greater evil. But evil is incident to every condition of society, and, as I have said, we have only to consider in which institution it most predominates.

"In London, or Paris, or New York, the unmarried woman who becomes a mother is an outcast from society; and though sentimentalists lament the hardship of the case, it is justly and necessarily so. She is cut off from the hope of useful and profitable employment, and driven by necessity to further vice. Her misery, and the hopelessness of retrieving, render her desperate, until she sinks into every depth of depravity, and is prepared for every crime that can contaminate and infest society. She has given birth to a human being, who, if it be so unfortunate as to survive its miserable infancy, is commonly educated to a like course of vice, depravity, and crime.

"Compare with this the female slave under similar circumstances. She is not a less useful member of society than before. If shame be attached to her conduct, it is such a shame as would be elsewhere felt for a venial impropriety. She has not impaired her means of support, nor materially impaired her character or lowered her station in society; she has done no great injury to herself or any other human being. Her offspring is not a burden, but an acquisition to her owner; his support is provided for, and he is brought up to usefulness; if a fruit of intercourse with a free man, his condition is perhaps raised somewhat

above that of his mother. Under these circumstances, with imperfect knowledge, tempted by the strongest of human passions, unrestrained by the motives which operate to restrain, but are so often found insufficient to restrain, the conduct of females elsewhere, can it be matter of surprise that she should so often yield to the temptation? Is not the evil less in itself, and in reference to society—much less in the sight of God and man? As was said of theft, the want of chastity—which, among females of other countries, is sometimes vice, sometimes crime, among the free of our own, much more aggravated—among slaves hardly deserves a harsher term than that of weakness.

"But is it a small compensation for the evils attending the relations of the sexes among the enslaved class, that they have universally the opportunity of indulging the first instinct of nature by forming matrimonial connections? What painful restraint—what constant effort to struggle against the strongest impulses, are habitually practised elsewhere, and by other classes! And they must be practised, unless greater evils would be encountered. On the one side, all the evils of vice, with the miseries to which it leads; on the other, a marriage cursed and made hateful by want, the sufferings of children, and agonizing apprehensions concerning their future fate. Is it a small good that the slave is free from all this? He knows that his own subsistence is secure, and that his children will be in as good a condition as himself. . . . . To the evils which sometimes attend their matrimonial connections, arising from their looser morality, slaves, for obvious reasons, are comparatively insensible.

"But if they are subject to the vices, they have also the virtues of slaves. Fidelity—often proof against all temptation, even death itself, an eminently cheerful and social temper; what the Bible imposes as a duty, but which might seem an equivocal virtue in the code of modern morality—*submission to constituted authority*, and a disposition to be attached to, as well as to respect, those whom they are taught to regard as superiors. They may have all the knowledge which will make them useful in the station in which God has been pleased to place them, and may cultivate the virtues which will render them acceptable to him. But what has the slave of any country to do with heroic virtues, liberal knowledge, or elegant accomplishments? It is for the master—arising out of his situation, imposed on him as a duty, dangerous and disgraceful if neglected—to compensate for this, by his own more assiduous cultivation of the more generous virtues and liberal attainments.

"It has been supposed one of the great evils of slavery, that it affords the slave no opportunity of raising himself to a higher rank in society,

and that he has therefore no inducement to meritorious exertion or the cultivation of his faculties. The indolence and carelessness of the slave, and the less productive quality of his labor, are traced to the want of such excitement. The first compensation for this disadvantage is his security. If he can rise no higher, he is just in the same degree secured against the chances of falling lower. It has been sometimes made a question, whether it were better for man to be freed from the perturbations of hope and fear, or to be exposed to their vicissitudes. But I suppose there could be little question with respect to a situation in which the fears must greatly predominate over the hopes. And such I apprehend to be the condition of the laboring poor in countries where slavery does not exist. If not exposed to present suffering, there is continual apprehension for the future, for themselves, for their children, of sickness and want, if not of actual starvation. They expect to improve their circumstances! Would any one person of ordinary candor say that there is one in a hundred of them who does not well know that with all the exertion he can make, it is out of his power materially to improve his circumstances? I speak not so much of menial servants, who are generally of a superior class, as of the agricultural and manufacturing laborers. They labor with no such view. It is the instinctive struggle to preserve existence; and when the superior efficiency of their labor over that of our slaves is pointed out as being animated by a free man's hopes, might it not well be replied, it is because they labor under a sterner compulsion? The laws interpose no obstacle to their raising their condition in society. It is a great boon; but, as to the great mass, they know that they never will be able to raise it; and it should seem not very important in effect, whether it be the interdict of law or imposed by the circumstances of the society. One in a thousand is successful. But does his success compensate for the sufferings of the many who are tantalized, baffled, and tortured in vain attempts to attain a like result? If the individual be conscious of intellectual power, the suffering is greater. Even where success is apparently attained, he sometimes gains it but to die, or, with all capacity, to enjoy it exhausted, worn out in the struggle with fortune. If it be true that the African is an inferior variety of the human race, of less elevated character and more limited intellect, is it not desirable that the inferior laboring class should be made up of such who will conform to their condition without painful aspirations and vain struggles?

"The slave is certainly liable to be sold. But perhaps it may be questioned whether this is a greater evil than the liability of the labor-

er, in fully-peopled countries, to be dismissed by his employer, with the uncertainty of being able to obtain employment or the means of subsistence elsewhere. With us the employer cannot dismiss his laborer without providing him with another employer. His means of subsistence are secure, and this is a compensation for much. He is also liable to be separated from wife and child—though not more frequently, that I am aware of, than the exigency of their condition compels the separation of families among the laboring poor elsewhere,—but from native character and temperament, the separation is much less severely felt. And it is one of the compensations, that he may sustain these relations without suffering a still severer penalty for the indulgence.

"The love of liberty is a noble passion—to have the free, uncontrolled disposition of ourselves, our words, and actions. But, alas! it is one of which we know that a large portion of the human race can never be gratified. It is mockery to say that the laborer anywhere has such disposition of himself, though there may be an approach to it in some peculiar—and those, perhaps, not the most desirable—states of society. But unless he be properly disciplined and prepared for its enjoyment, it is the most fatal boon that could be conferred—fatal to himself and others. If slaves have less freedom of action than other laborers, which I by no means admit, they are saved, in a great degree, from the responsibility of self-government, and the evils springing from their own perverse wills. Those who have looked most closely into life, and know how great a portion of human misery is derived from these sources—the undecided and wavering purpose, producing ineffectual exertion, or indolence, with its thousand attendant evils—the wayward conduct, intemperance, or profligacy—will most appreciate this benefit. The line of a slave's duty is marked out with precision, and he has no choice but to follow it. He is saved the double difficulty, first of determining the proper course for himself, and then in summoning up the energy which will sustain him in pursuing it.

"If some superior power shall impose on the laborious poor of any other country, this as their unalterable condition: you shall be saved from the torturing anxiety concerning your own future support, and that of your children, which now pursues you through life and haunts you in death; you shall be under the necessity of regular and healthful, though not excessive labor; in return, you shall have the ample supply of your natural wants, and you may follow the instinct of nature in becoming parents, without apprehending that this supply will fail yourselves or your children; you shall be supported and relieved in sickness, and in old age wear out the remains of existence among

familiar scenes and accustomed associates, without being driven to beg, or to resort to the hard and miserable charity of a workhouse; you shall of necessity be temperate; and shall have neither the temptation nor opportunity to commit great crimes, or practise the more destructive vices—how inappreciable would the boon be thought! And is not this a very near approach to the condition of our slaves? The evils of their situation they but lightly feel, and would hardly feel at all, if they were not sedulously instructed into sensibility. Certain it is, that if their fate were at the absolute disposal of a council of the most enlightened philanthropists in Christendom, with unlimited resources, they could place them in no situation so favorable to themselves as that which they at present occupy. . . .

"What is the essential character of *slavery*, and in what does it differ from the *servitude* in other countries? If I should venture on a definition, I should say, that where a man is compelled to labor at the will of another, and to give him much the greater portion of the product of his labor, there *slavery* exists; and it is immaterial by what sort of compulsion the will of the laborer is subdued. It is what no human being would do without some sort of compulsion. He cannot be compelled to labor by blows. No; but what difference does it make, if you can inflict any other sort of torture which will be equally effectual in subduing the will? If you can starve him, or alarm him for the subsistence of himself or his family? And is it not under this compulsion that the free man labors? I do not mean in every particular case, but in the general. Will any one be hardy enough to say, that he is at his own disposal, or has the government of himself? True, he may change his employer if he is dissatisfied with his conduct towards him; but this is a privilege he would in the majority of cases gladly abandon, and render the connection between them indissoluble. There is far less in the interest and attachment in his relation to his employer, which so often exists between the master and the slave, and mitigates the condition of the latter. An intelligent English traveller has characterized as the most miserable and degraded of all beings 'a masterless slave.' And is not the condition of the laboring poor of other countries too often that of masterless slaves?

"That they are called free, undoubtedly aggravates the sufferings of the slaves of other regions. They see the enormous inequality which exists, and feel their own misery, and can hardly conceive otherwise than that there is some injustice in the institutions of society to occasion these. They regard the apparently more fortunate class as oppressors; and it adds bitterness that they should be of the same

name and race. They feel indignity more acutely, and more of discontent and evil passion is excited. They feel that it is mockery that calls them free. Men do not so much hate and envy those who are separated from them by a wide distance, and some apparently impassable barrier, as those who approach nearer to their own condition, and with whom they habitually bring themselves in comparison. The slave with us is not tantalized with the name of freedom, to which his whole condition gives the lie, and would do so if he were emancipated to-morrow. The African slave sees that Nature herself has marked him as a separate—and if left to himself, I have no doubt he would feel it to be an inferior—race, and interposed a barrier almost inseparable to his becoming a member of the same society, standing on the same footing of right and privilege with his master.

"That the African negro is an inferior variety of the human race, is, I think, now generally admitted, and his distinguishing characteristics are such, as peculiarly mark him out for the situation, which he occupies among us; and those are no less marked in their original country than we have daily occasion to observe them. The most remarkable is their indifference to personal liberty. In this they have followed their instincts, since we have any knowledge of their continent, by enslaving each other; but, contrary to the experience of every other race, the possession of slaves has no material effect in raising the character, and promoting the civilization of the master. Another trait is the want of domestic affections, and insensibility to the ties of kindred. In the travels of Lander, after speaking of a single exception in the person of a woman, who betrayed some transient emotion in passing by the country from which she had been torn as a slave, the author adds—'That Africans, generally speaking, betray the most perfect indifference on losing their liberty and being deprived of their relatives; while love of country is equally a stranger to their breasts, as social tenderness and domestic affection.' 'Marriage is celebrated by the natives as unconcernedly as possible; a man thinks as little of taking a wife as of cutting an ear of corn; affection is altogether out of question.' They are, however, very submissive to authority, and seem to entertain great reverence for chiefs, priests, and masters. Their character is thus summed up by the traveller quoted:—'The few opportunities we have had of studying their characters, induce us to believe, that they are a simple, honest, inoffensive, but weak, timid, and cowardly race. They seem to have no social tenderness, very few of those amiable private virtues which could win our affections, and none of those public qualities that claim

respect or command admiration. The love of country is not strong enough in their bosoms to entice them to defend it against a despicable foe; and of the active energy, noble sentiments, and contempt of danger, which distinguish the North American tribes, and other savages, no traces are to be found among this slothful people. Regardless of the past, as reckless of the future, the present alone influences their actions. In this respect they approach nearer to the nature of the brute creation than perhaps any other people on the face of the globe!' Let me ask, if this people do not furnish the very material out of which slaves ought to be made; and whether it be not an improving of their condition to make them the slaves of civilized masters? . . . .

"We believe that the tendency of slavery is to elevate the character of the master. No doubt the character—especially of youth—has sometimes received a taint and premature knowledge of vice, from the contact and association with ignorant and servile beings of gross manners and morals. Yet still we believe that the entire tendency is to inspire disgust and aversion towards their peculiar vices. It was not without a knowledge of Nature that the Spartans exhibited the vices of slaves by way of negative example to their children. We flatter ourselves that the view of this degradation, mitigated as it is, has the effect of making probity more strict, the pride of character more high, the sense of honor more strong, than is commonly found where this institution does not exist. Whatever may be the prevailing faults or vices of the masters of slaves, they have not commonly been understood to be those of dishonesty, cowardice, meanness, or falsehood. And so most unquestionably it ought to be. Our institutions would indeed be intolerable in the sight of God and man, if, condemning one portion of society to hopeless ignorance, and comparative degradation, they should make no atonement by elevating the other class by higher virtues and more liberal attainments;—if, besides degraded slaves, there should be ignorant, ignoble, and degraded free men. There is a broad and well-marked line, beyond which no slavish vice should be regarded with the least toleration or allowance. One class is cut off from all interest in the State—that abstraction so potent to the feelings of a generous nature. The other must make compensation by increased assiduity and devotion to its honor and welfare. . . . .

"I have before said, that free-labor is cheaper than the labor of slaves, and so far as it is so, the condition of the free-laborer is worse. But I think President Dew has sufficiently shown that this is only true of Northern countries. It is matter of familiar remark, that the ten-

dency of warm climates is to relax the human constitution, and indispose to labor. The earth yields abundantly—in some regions almost spontaneously—under the influence of the sun, and the means of supporting life are obtained with but slight exertion, than is necessary to the purpose. This very luxuriance of vegetation, where no other cause concurs, renders the air less salubrious, and even when positive malady does not exist, the health is habitually impaired. Indolence renders the constitution more liable to these effects, as the atmosphere and these again aggravate the indolence. Nothing but the coercion of slavery can overcome the repugnance to labor under these circumstances, and by subduing the soil, improve and render wholesome the climate.

"It is worthy of remark, that there does not now exist on the face of the earth a people in a tropical climate, or one approaching to it, where slavery does not exist, that is, in a state of high civilization, or exhibits the energies which mark the progress towards it. Mexico and the South American republics, starting on their new career of independence, and having gone through a farce of abolishing slavery, are rapidly degenerating, even from semi-barbarism. The only portion of the South American continent, which seems to be making any favorable progress, in spite of a weak and arbitrary civil government, is Brazil,* in which slavery has been retained. Cuba, of the same race of the continental republics, is daily and rapidly advancing in industry and civilization; and this is owing exclusively to her slaves. St. Domingo is struck out of the map of civilized existence, and the British West Indies will shortly be so. On the other continent, Spain and Portugal are degenerate, and their rapid progress is downward. Their Southern coast is infested with disease, arising from causes which industry might readily overcome, but that industry they will never exert. Greece is still barbarous and scantily peopled. The work of an English physician, distinguished by strong sense and power of observation, gives a most affecting picture of the condition of Italy, especially south of the Apennines. With the decay of industry, the climate has degenerated towards the condition from which it was first rescued by the labor of slaves. There is poison in every man's veins, affecting the very springs of life, dulling or extinguishing, with the energies of the body, all energy of mind, and often exhibiting itself in the most appalling forms of disease. From year to year the pestilential atmosphere creeps forward, narrowing the circles within which it is possible to sustain human life. With disease and misery, industry still more rap-

* The author forgets Chili and Peru.—F. P.

idly decays, and if the process goes on, it seems that Italy will soon be ready for another experiment of colonization.

"Yet once it was not so, when Italy was possessed by the masters of slaves; when Rome contained her millions, and Italy was a garden; when their iron energies of body corresponded with the energies of mind, which made them conquerors in every climate, and on every soil; rolled the tide of conquest, not, as in later times, from the South to the North; extended their laws and civilization, and created them lords of the earth.

"Such was and such is the picture of Italy. Greece presents a contrast not less striking. What is the cause of the great change? Many causes, no doubt, have concurred; but though

> "War, famine, pestilence, and flood and fire,
> Have dealt upon the seven-hilled city's pride,"

I will venture to say that nothing has dealt upon it more heavily than the loss of domestic slavery. Is not this evident? If they had slaves, with an energetic civil government, would the deadly miasma be permitted to overspread the Campagna and invade Rome herself? Would not the soil be cultivated and the wastes reclaimed?

"To us, on whom this institution is fastened, and who could not shake it off even if we desired to do so, the great republics of antiquity offer instruction of inestimable value. They teach us that slavery is compatible with the freedom, stability, and long duration of civil government, with denseness of population, great power, and the highest civilization. And in what respect does this modern Europe, which claims to give opinions to the world, so far excel them—notwitstanding the immense advantages of the Christian religion, and the discovery of the art of printing? They are not more free, nor have performed more glorious actions, nor displayed more exalted virtue. In the higher department of intellect – in all that relates to taste and imagination—they will hardly venture to claim equality. Where they have gone beyond them in the results of mechanical philosophy, or discoveries which contribute to the wants and enjoyments of physical life; they have done so by the help of means with which they were furnished by the Grecian mind—the mother of civilization,—and only pursued a little further the track which that had always pointed out. In the development of intellectual power they will hardly bear comparison.

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"If, after a time, when the mind and almost the memory of the re-

public were lost, Romans degenerated, they furnish conclusive evidence that this was owing not to their domestic, but their political, slavery. In short, the uncontradicted experience of the world is, that, in Southern States where good government and prædial and domestic slavery are found, there are prosperity and greatness; where either of these conditions is wanting, degeneracy and barbarism. The former, however, is equally essential in all climates and under all institutions. And can we suppose it to be the design of the Creator, that these regions, constituting half of the earth's surface, and the more fertile half and more capable of sustaining life, should be abandoned for ever to depopulation and barbarism? Certain it is, that they will never be reclaimed by the labor of free men. In our own country, look at the lower valley of the Mississippi, which is capable of being made a far greater Egypt. In our own State, there are extensive tracts of the most fertile soil, which are capable of being made to swarm with life. These are, at present, pestilential swamps, and valueless, because there is abundance of other fertile soil in more favorable situations, which demand all and more than all the labor which our country can supply. Are these regions of fertility to be abandoned at once and for ever to the alligator and tortoise—with here and there, perhaps, a miserable, shivering, crouching, *free*, black savage? Does not the finger of heaven itself seem to point to a race of men—not to be enslaved by us, but already enslaved, and who will be in every way benefited by the change of masters—to whom such climate is not uncongenial; who, though disposed to indolence, are yet patient and capable of labor; on whose whole features, mind, and character, nature has indelibly written—slave; and indicate that we should avail ourselves of these in fulfilling the first great command, to subdue and replenish the earth?

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"The task of keeping down insurrection is commonly supposed, by those who are strangers to our institution, to be a very formidable one. We have been supposed to be nightly reposing over a mine, which may at any instant explode to our destruction. The first thought of a foreigner, sojourning in one of our cities, who is awakened by any nightly alarm, is of servile insurrection and massacre. Yet if anything is certain in human affairs, it is certain, and from the most obvious considerations, that we are more secure in this respect, than any civilized and fully peopled society upon the face of the earth. In every such society, there is a much larger proportion than with us, of persons who have more to gain than to lose by the overthrow of government, and the embroiling of social order. It is in such a state of things, that those

who were before at the bottom of society, rise to the surface. From causes already considered, they are peculiarly apt to consider their sufferings the result of injustice and misgovernment, and to be rancorous and embittered accordingly. They have every excitement, therefore, of resentful passion, and every temptation which the hope of increased opulence or power or consideration can hold out, to urge them to innovation and revolt. Supposing the same disposition to exist in equal degree among our slaves, what are their comparative means or prospect of gratifying it? The poor of other countries are called free. They have, at least, no one interested to exercise a daily and nightly superintendence and control over their conduct and actions. Emissaries of their class may traverse, unchecked, every portion of the country, for the purpose of organizing insurrection. From their greater intelligence, they have greater means of communicating with each other. They may procure and secrete arms. It is not alone the ignorant, and those who are commonly called the poor, that will be tempted to revolution. There will be many disappointed men, and men of desperate fortune—men perhaps of talent and daring to combine them and direct their energies. Even those in the higher ranks of society, who contemplate no such result, will contribute to it, by declaiming on their hardships and rights.

"With us, it is almost physically impossible that there should be any very extensive combination among the slaves. It is absolutely impossible that they should procure and conceal efficient arms. Their emissaries traversing the country would carry their commission on their foreheads. If we suppose among them an individual of sufficient talent and energy to qualify him for a revolutionary leader, he could not be so extensively known as to command the confidence which would be necessary to enable him to combine and direct them. Of the class of free men, there would be no individual so poor or degraded (with the exception perhaps of here and there a reckless and desperate outlaw and felon:) who would not have much to lose by the success of such an attempt; every one therefore would be vigilant and active to detect and suppress it. Of all impossible things, one of the most impossible would be a successful insurrection of our slaves, originating with themselves. . . . .

"It has commonly been supposed, that this institution will prove a source of weakness in relation to military defence against a foreign enemy. I will venture to say, that in a slave-holding community, a larger military force may be maintained permanently in the field, than in any state where there are not slaves. It is plain that almost the

whole of the able-bodied free male population, making half of the entire able-bodied male population, may be maintained in the field, and this without taking in any material degree from the labor and resources of the country. In general, the labor of our country is performed by slaves. In other countries, it is their laborers that form the material of their armies. What proportion of these can be taken away without fatally crippling their industry and resources? . . . .

"From the general opinion of our weakness, if our country should at any time come into hostile collision, we shall be selected for the point of attack, making us, according to Mr. Adams's anticipation, the Flanders of the United States. Come from what quarter it may, the storm will fall upon us. It is known, that lately, when there was apprehension of hostility with France, the scheme was instantly devised of invading the Southern States and organizing insurrection. But the folly of such schemes is no less evident than their wickedness. Apart from the consideration of that which experience has most fully proved to be true—that, in general, the attachment and fidelity of our slaves to their masters is not to be shaken, and that from sympathy with the feelings of those by whom they are surrounded, and from whom they derive their impressions, they contract no less terror and aversion from an invading enemy—it is manifest that this recourse would be a hundred-fold more available to us than to such an enemy. They are already in our possession, and we might at will, arm and organize them in any number that we might think proper. The Helots were a regular constituent part of the Spartan armies. Thoroughly acquainted with their characters, and accustomed to command them, we might use any strictness of discipline which would be necessary to render them effective, and from their habits of subordination already formed, this would be a task of less difficulty. Though morally most timid, they are by no means wanting in physical strength of nerve. They are excitable by praise; and directed by those in whom they have confidence, would rush fearlessly and unquestioning upon any sort of danger. With white officers, and accompanied by a strong white cavalry, there are no troops in the world from whom there would be so little reason to apprehend insubordination or mutiny. . .

"When the demand for agricultural labor shall be fully supplied, then, of course, the labor of slaves will be directed to other employments and enterprises. Already it begins to be found, that in some instances it may be used as profitably in works of public improvement. As it becomes cheaper and cheaper, it will be applied to more various purposes, and combined in larger masses. It may be commanded and

combined with more facility than any other sort of labor; and the laborer, kept in stricter subordination, will be less dangerous to the security of society than in any other country, which is crowded and overstocked with a class of what are called free-laborers. Let it be remembered, that all the great and enduring monuments of human art and industry,—the wonders of Egypt, the everlasting works of Rome,—were created by the labor of slaves. There will come a stage in our progress, when we shall have facilities for executing works as great as any of these—more useful than the Pyramids—not less magnificent than the sea of Moeris. What the end of all is to be; what mutations lie hid in the womb of the distant future; to what convulsions our societies may be exposed; whether the master, finding it impossible to live with his slaves, may not be compelled to abandon the country to them; of all this it were presumptuous and vain to speculate.

"I have hitherto, as I proposed, considered it as a naked, abstract question of the comparative good and evil of the institution of slavery. Very far different indeed is the practical question presented to us, when it is proposed to get rid of an institution which has interwoven itself with every fibre of the body politic, which has formed the habits of our society, and is consecrated by the usage of generations. . . . .

"In one thing I concur with the Abolitionists; that if emancipation is to be brought about, it is better that it should be immediate and total. But let us suppose it to be brought about in any manner, and then inquire what would be the effects.

"The first and most obvious effect would be to put an end to the cultivation of our great Southern staple. And this would be equally the result, if we suppose the emancipated negroes to be in no way distinguished from the free laborers of other countries, and that their labor would be equally effective. In that case they would soon cease to be laborers for hire, but would scatter themselves over our unbounded territory, to become independent landowners themselves. The cultivation of the soil on an extensive scale can only be carried on where there are slaves, or in countries superabounding with free labor. No such operations are carried on in any portion of our own country where there are not slaves. Such are carried on in England, where there is an overflowing population and intense competition for employment. And our institutions seem suited to the exigencies of our respective situations. There, a much greater number of laborers is required at one season of the year than another, and the farmer may enlarge or diminish the quantity of labor he employs as circumstances

may require. Here, about the same quantity of labor is required at every season, and the planter suffers no inconvenience from retaining his laborers throughout the year. Imagine an extensive rice or cotton plantation cultivated by free laborers, who might perhaps *strike* for an increase of wages, at a season when the neglect of a few days would ensure the destruction of the whole crop: even if it were possible to procure laborers at all, what planter would venture to carry on his operations under such circumstances? I need hardly say, that these staples cannot be produced to any extent where the proprietor of the soil cultivates it with his own hands. He can do little more than produce the necessary food for himself and his family. . . . .

"A distinguished citizen of our own State has lately stated that our great staple, cotton, has contributed more than anything else of later times to the progress of civilization. Does not *self-defence*, then, demand of us steadily to resist the abrogation of that which is productive of so much good? It is more than self-defence. It is to defend millions of human beings, who are far removed from us, from the intensest suffering, if not from being struck out of existence. It is the defence of human civilization. . . . .

"But this is but a small part of the evil which would be occasioned. It is unnecessary to say a single word on the practicability of colonizing our slaves. The two races, so widely separated from each other by the impress of nature, must remain together so as to form a homogeneous population. To one who knows anything of the nature of man and human society, it would be unnecessary to argue that this state of things cannot continue; but that the one race must be driven out by the other, or exterminated, or again enslaved. I have argued on the supposition that the emancipated negroes would be as efficient as other free laborers. But we well know that this would not be so. We know that nothing but the coercion of slavery can overcome their propensity to indolence, and that not one in ten would be an efficient laborer. Even if this disposition were not grounded in their nature, it would be a result of their position. I have somewhere seen it observed, that to be degraded by opinion is a thousandfold worse, so far as the feelings of the individual are concerned, than to be degraded by the laws. *They* would be thus degraded, and this feeling is incompatible with habits of order and industry. Half our population would at once be paupers. Let an inhabitant of New York or Philadelphia conceive of the situation of their respective States, if one-half of their population consisted of free negroes. The tie which now connects them being broken, the different races would be estranged from each other, and hostility would

grow up between them. Released from the vigilant superintendence which now restrains them, they would infallibly be led from petty to greater crimes, until all life and property would be insecure. Aggression would beget retaliation, until open war, and that a war of extermination, were established. From the still remaining superiority of the white race, it is probable that they would be victors, and if they did not exterminate, they must again reduce the others to slavery—when they could be no longer fit to be either slaves or free men. It is not in self-defence, in defence of our country, and of all that is dear to us, but in defence of the slaves themselves, that we refuse to emancipate them.

"If we suppose them to have political privileges, and to be admitted to the elective franchise, still worse results may be expected. They would be used by unprincipled politicians, of irregular ambition, for the advancement of their schemes, until they should give them political power and importance beyond even their own intentions. They would be courted by excited parties, in their contests with each other. At some time they may, perhaps, attain political ascendancy, and this is more probable, as we may suppose that there will have been a great emigration of whites from the country. Imagine the government of such legislators! . . . The blacks will be tempted to avenge themselves by oppression and proscription of the white race, for their long superiority. Thus matters will go on, until universal anarchy, or kakistocracy, is fully established. I am persuaded, that if the spirit of evil should devise, or send abroad upon the earth, all possible misery, discord, horror, and atrocity, he would contrive no scheme so effectual as the emancipation of negro slaves within our country. . . . .

"An effect is sometimes produced on the mind of slaveholders, by the publications of self-styled philanthropists, and their judgments staggered and consciences alarmed. It is natural that the oppressed should hate the oppressor. It is still more natural that the oppressor should hate his victim. Convince the master that he is doing injustice to his slave, and he at once begins to regard him with distrust and malignity. It is a part of the constitution of the human mind, that when circumstances of necessity or temptation induce men to continue in the practice of what they believe to be wrong, they become desperate and reckless of the degree of wrong. I have formerly heard of a master who accounted for his practising much severity upon his slaves, and exacting from them an unusual degree of labor, by saying that 'the thing' (slavery) was altogether wrong, and therefore it was well to make the greatest possible advantages out of it. This

agitation occasions some slaveholders to hang more loosely on their country. Regarding the institution as of questionable character, condemned by the general opinion of the world, and one which must shortly come to an end, they hold themselves in readiness to make their escape from the evil which they anticipate. Some sell their slaves to new masters (always a misfortune to the slave), and remove themselves to other societies, of manners and habits uncongenial to their own. And though we may suppose that it is only the weak and the timid, who are liable to be thus affected, still it is no less an injury and public misfortune. Society is kept in an unquiet and restless state, and every sort of improvement is retarded.

"Some projectors suggest the education of slaves, with a view to prepare them for freedom, as if there were any method of a man's being educated to freedom but by himself. The truth is, however, that supposing that they are shortly to be emancipated, and that they have the capacities of any other race, they are undergoing the very best education which is possible to give. They are in the course of being taught habits of regular and patient industry, and this is the first lesson which is required. I suppose that their most zealous advocates would not desire that they should be placed in the high places of society immediately upon their emancipation; but that they should begin their course of freedom as laborers, and raise themselves afterwards, as their capacities and characters might enable them. But how little would what are commonly called the rudiments of education be carried further than this! There is a constant tendency in our society to extend the sphere of their employments, and consequently to give them the information which is necessary to the discharge of those employments. And this for the most obvious reason, it promotes the master's interest. How much would it add to the value of a slave, that he should be capable of being employed as a clerk, or be able to make calculations as a mechanic? In consequence, however, of the fanatical spirit which has been excited, it has been thought necessary to repress this tendency by legislation, and to prevent their acquiring the knowledge of which they might make a dangerous use. If this spirit were put down, and we restored to the consciousness of security, this would be no longer necessary, and the process, of which I have spoken, accelerated. Whenever indications of superior capacity appeared in a slave, it would be cultivated, gradual improvements would take place, until they might be engaged in as various employments as they were among the ancients—perhaps even liberal ones. Thus, if in the adorable providence of God, at a time, and in a manner,

which we can neither foresee nor conjecture, they are to be rendered capable of freedom and to enjoy it, they would be prepared for it in the best and most effectual, because in the most natural and gradual manner. But fanaticism hurries to its effect at once. I have heard it said, God does good, but it is by imperceptible degrees; the devil is permitted to do evil, and he does it in a hurry. The beneficial processes of nature are not apparent to the senses. You cannot see the plant grow, or the flower expand. The volcano, the earthquake, and the hurricane do their work of desolation in a moment. Such would be the desolation, if the schemes of fanatics were permitted to have effect. They do all that in them lies to thwart the beneficial purposes of Providence. The whole tendency of their efforts is to aggravate present suffering, and to cut off the chance of future improvement; and in all their bearings and results have produced, and are likely to produce, nothing but pure, unmixed, defecated evil."

With this tirade against his opponents, Chancellor Harper winds up his Memoir on Slavery, read before the Society for the Advancement of Learning, of South Carolina.

II. THREE LETTERS OF A NEW ENGLAND LADY TO MADAME PULSZKY.

July 13th, 1852.

My Dear Madame Pulszky:—In spite of all that has been said about the grim American expression, I suppose a foreigner coming from the perplexities of Europe still expects, on reaching this land of freedom and of plenty, to find the faces of men as bright as their fortunes, and that from Maine to Louisiana the expression of the American face, though serious and practical, as befits those whose hammer-strokes make valleys on the earth, will at least be hopeful, easy, and free from consuming cares. Instead of this, the eager, anxious expression of our men, and the oppressed, careworn looks of our women, strike not only foreigners, but those of us who can compare this with other lands. Even to our children the natural graces of childhood are denied, they are said to grow old before their time. As they ripen early and press forward to share the pleasures and burdens of life, they undoubtedly do abridge the pleasant season of youth; and hardship does its work in our country as well as in others. But this is no fault of the parents in America; they bear gladly the burden which gives freedom to their children, and however the mother may victimize her-

self, she secures for her brood at least while in the nest a free and joyful, light-hearted, and happy life. Children are monarchs in America. They are the most important members of society, since on them hangs the destiny of the New World, and to each parent's heart they offer the possibility of living over again his own life free from past errors and privations. He says, "I can be no more than want of education and a hard struggle with the world have made me, but my children shall be all their natural powers allow."

But to return to the much abused expression, which I am afraid we must allow to be national. We have our peculiar social difficulties, but none large enough to darken the faces of a whole generation; and as for the want of suitable public amusements in America, of which much has been said, I grant their value, but when we are able to enjoy them we shall have them, for an American never desires anything long in vain. Our temperament also is serious, but not sad, and it would seem as if we ought to be at least as capable of enjoyment as the English. Either we are very thankless, very grasping, or there is something in our mode of life unfortunate, if not wrong. Many persons, and with some reason, blame the climate, and there is a theory that our race is not at home on this side of the world, and that an unconscious home-sickness acts on our physique, and will finally drive us across the waters again, or reduce our mental and physical stature. But I am unwilling to give up this glorious sky, this beautiful earth and these mighty waters. I love this country, and would rather, with all deference to the ethnologists, try it a few hundred years longer. That the climate is stimulating to the nerves, and thus exhausting, there is no doubt; but in stimulating the nervous system it rouses the whole man, and endows him with a boundless activity and power. The influence of climate once being acknowledged, we have only to counteract its evils by our diet and mode of life. If we swallow our oxygen faster and thus run through our appointed days more quickly, what matters it? Our genuine life may be as long; and there is no proof that the perfection of man the immortal demands the most luxuriant development of man the animal.

To me the position of man on this continent is full of promise. Notwithstanding all that has been said of Anglo-Saxon supremacy, there is scarcely a family in the land which does not in features and character betray how many races have enriched it. Nay, there is no one who, in reading the history of other nations, does not feel that stir within himself which is akin to each. And what a promise of a rich and varied social life does this open to us when a leisure time shall

come, and we shall feel that we have a right to plant without looking for a speedy harvest!

Others have ascribed the American discontent to a home-sickness of the soul, to an unconscious protest of the spiritual nature against the overwhelming outward life. This perhaps is nearer the truth, and if so it is to be welcomed and rejoiced in. It shows a living spirit, not to be satisfied by success in this world. I believe there is no want of the sacred fire but it is kept under now, and cannot blaze except occasionally in mad outbreaks. It shows itself according to the intelligence in belief in spiritual rappings, in transcendentalism, in a love of carrying out great principles relentlessly into little things. Nowhere is the transition from great principles to details, without any of those middle truths which soften the descent and equalize the flow, so common as here; there is no educated common sense to prevent it. Hence our Bloomerisms and rights-of-women meetings, and a thousand absurdities, some of them admirable in purpose, but irresistibly droll in execution. Even the follies of America show that inward life is not wanting in the people as a whole; but this inward life is uncertain, not pervading the whole character, and rather preventing the repose it should give. It shows itself in hero-worship, in the influence of the sentiments in great affairs or particular crises; but not in giving meaning and charm to every-day life, not in lifting us above anxieties and vexations. It has not yet an acknowledged supremacy over the outward life. The battle is not yet fought, and it is for the men of the present day to decide it. It is well for us that, as we sit on our shores to receive what it took Europe centuries to invent, when she forces on us all things, dross and gold, things good because they are new and things good because they are old, when everything from a constitution to a gilded cornice is trumpeted to us, and is sanctioned by those more experienced than ourselves——, it is well for us that still we wear a face of discontent. Still the soul refuses to be filled, and demands that every pursuit, every desire, every success should shrink to the size it would assume at the close of life; that each should be recognized as good in so far as it ministers directly or indirectly to her wants, and no further. When this is so, and not till then, will the expression of eagerness and discontent leave the face of the American. But can this be expected now, when in the glittering heaps his dazzled eye cannot distinguish glass beads from precious stones? Besides, should life be the same in this fresh prairie as in the trodden fields of Europe? Must we accept the valuations of the Old World, or shall we, like the Roman Kings, sweep away the old names and the old values, and be-

gin anew? Before we know our wants or our capabilities, we may put on the harness of an old civilization, or rashly forge for ourselves new fetters.

Holding the plough and keeping Nature under with one hand, the American is called to solve the difficult problem of separating the eternal and unchangeably valuable from that which serves only for the moment. More happy than the mere philosopher, for what he decides he does, for him there may be the pleasure, the most exquisite a human being can enjoy, of losing himself in a great thought, and at the same moment carrying it into execution. This is the blessing of work, it is a double enjoyment. But alas, the American at this moment, like youths in general, is more bent on doing than on receiving, on putting his thought into execution than on choosing the best one; he feels his power, but not the need of drawing that power from higher sources; let him remember that the fountain which continually flows, but never opens itself to the Giver, is soon exhausted. The American more than any one else needs to feel his dependence on a higher power, the consciousness of his own power is so continually and strongly present to him. Let us hope that he will show this feeling in the arrangement of his life, in making the lower subordinate to the higher, and in losing all personal feeling of pride and success in his gratitude that he is born where there is much to be done, and that he can do it. If he still remains more of a doer than a thinker, if his practical tendency leads him to substitute morals and duties towards men for empty soarings and seekings, we will not quarrel with it. He may resemble the noble Saint Christopher, who, as the legend relates, found it difficult to fast and pray, but who wrought such mighty deeds of charity and love that he was thought worthy to bear on his shoulders the infant Christ. As long as the American feels that he draws from heaven the power by which he serves his fellow-men and develops himself, he is safe; he leads a life hard, practical, crowded though it may be, which we may believe the Deity approves; but if the Presence leaves him, if he feels himself for a moment omnipotent, or even a centre of power, he becomes grasping and selfish. Then like all children he desires everything, but unlike other children he feels that he must have everything; even the rights of others do not oppose an invulnerable barrier to him.

It is the existence of these strong desires, and the consciousness of power without a feeling of dependence, that cause much of the irreverence and want of deference of which our manners are justly accused; but many smaller reasons combine to make reverence and

humility the last virtues we should expect from an American. Not only has he conquered the material world, but the fight has been single-handed; his only arms have been his natural gifts of sagacity, power and endurance; he has had comparatively little aid from education. In all his occupations, even in the learned professions, native sagacity and insight bring more success than mere education. He is in the main a self-made man, and as such is apt to overvalue his strength. Contact with other nations will no doubt teach him humility. Familiarity with the grandeur of the universe and religious feeling can alone give him reverence. In an age when old institutions and established ideas are passing away, the young are not likely to regard anything with reverence merely because it exists. The Americans particularly are children of the present generation; chiefly those ideas which swim on the surface of society reach them; they are inclined to investigate everything, and compel it to stand or fall by its own merits. We cannot blame this, for it gives manliness and independence of character, but it is unfortunate that the truths which they need most often, and with which they are most conversant, are almost all of one kind—of a kind where the decision of one mind is as conclusive as that of a million. They are truths of the understanding, and the ease with which they are reached gives a habit of arrogance in judging of higher truths, and rather disposes the mind to prefer those lower walks of action and thought in which absolute certainty can be reached. The sagacity and confidence in their own conclusions which result from such a life are valuable when men are called to share the government of the country: but they are at most only the silver of the statue, and if too much relied on are in danger of inducing hardness of character, and a cold, critical way of viewing things which is singularly at variance with the ardent temperament occasionally displayed, and with the spirit of religious faith and devotion, which is the most precious gift inherited from our ancestors. Perhaps these qualities must always be unduly developed in a republic. The habit of criticising public men and acts, of discussing every particular and all possible bearings of a subject, familiarity with the public prints, encourage this spirit. I am not unwilling to see the powers directed to these subjects instead of to personal interests, if it is only done in a candid spirit; it educates the moral sense, and may raise the standard of character. It is the duty of every republican to study honestly national questions and public men; if he does it in this spirit, he will soon find difficulties enough to teach him reverence and humility. If he pleases himself with deciding and giving his vote without an honest

investigation, of course his arrogance and presumption will increase. But after all, how is reverence to exist among a people where each generation avowedly overtops the last, as has been the case thus far with the mass of the people, not in genuine moral worth, nor perhaps in breadth of views, but in those thousand acquirements and refinements which together compose modern civilization—where the parent defers to the child before he is out of leading-strings, consults him on every occasion, puts him forward, and invites him to give his opinion and act for himself? This tone which pervades the whole nation not only fosters arrogance and imperiousness, but must indispose to reverence. It would be much better if parents in their own minds made a distinction between the means and appliances useful but not essential which their children enjoy, and the sterling wisdom which they may themselves have learned in life. Then they would appear to their children with more dignity, they would assert a just supremacy, and they would not forever confuse their children's ideas as to the comparative value of character and acquirement. This mistake of parents is the ruin of children; but it springs from a good source, a desire to see their children possess and employ those aids to action which they have wanted themselves. He who has found life a hard struggle when a tolerable education would have made it a pleasing toil, delights to place in his child's hands that which will enable him to conquer so many obstacles. Let him do so, let him surround the child with all appliances and means, but let him not neglect or undervalue his own part of education, to direct his powers aright, the highest and noblest office of a parent, and one which, if rightly performed, will secure the love and reverence of the child. For, of what use is it to rear a fair and stately mansion, to adorn it with all things convenient and beautiful, if the purpose to which it is destined is mean, sordid and base? Or who would care to build a cathedral without thinking whether it was intended for the worship of the false or the true God?

There is one peculiar difficulty in speaking of the American character. It is still in the alembic, and as we look on it the same elements take form, now in some choice, now in some detestable product-otto of rose or street-gas, according to the forces which move them. It is as if we described a youth whose imitativeness one moment seems a love of the excellent and the beautiful, a sympathetic feeling, the next seems servile and unworthy; whose frequent change may come from a wide nature which embraces all things, from candid conviction, or from a restless shallowness; whose largeness of speech verges on the ridiculous, but the next moment is justified by astounding actions. O!

if the word could be spoken and the mingling elements take their highest form. One grain of faith and love, one particle of self-distrust, and the crystal comes out firm and clear. But the word which is to be spoken, each man must speak it to himself.

That unhappy Goddess, Destiny, or Fate, who has been called to account for so many of the misfortunes of mankind, does not keep her state in America. We outstrip Destiny, if we do not defy her. Choice, not Fate, is responsible for most errors, public and private, in America; the necessity of choice enters into every particular of life. When a man is without a relative or a claim in the world, we pity him; if he is obliged to work for the means of living, there is already a claim, and he is happier; if he is a man of active benevolence, or has any decided tastes, the way is pointed to him still farther; but perhaps he has acquired none, and there are no helps to pass the time, and he is called on to construct his life anew: without knowing how others passed theirs, would he not be very much at a loss? The American is in many respects entirely at liberty; natural claims he has, and I believe he is faithful to them; he usually has also "the healthy stimulus of prospective want;" but care for himself and his family need not occupy the whole of his time: a portion of it is at his own disposal, and is filled up according to his own ideas. How important it is then in order to make a good choice that he should study all his duties, especially those new ones peculiar to himself! Let him

"Fix well his centre first, then draw his circles round."

Let him first earn his living in the world he has entered. If able ancestors have provided for his education and physical wants, let him pay the debt in good and loving deeds. If he is obliged to give the world something, in exchange for a place in it, let him rejoice that he is compelled to do something well. Let him at any rate secure manliness and independence. Next, to all who depend on him let him be a representative of Providence, reliable, beneficent, tender. When these nearest obligations are fulfilled, let him ask if in any way he can serve his country, or his fellow-men; let him not, from indifference or fastidiousness, leave the control of public opinion in the hands of the ignorant or designing; let him contribtue his mite of thought and effort to receiving hospitably his white brethren, or restoring the black man to his native home.

I would lay particular stress on choosing wisely as to profession or occupation, because here a youth enters on his career at twenty, and its influence on his character is almost irresistible. The education of

life, so much more important than any other, begins at the most impressible and ardent age; and there is often but little inward life to withstand it. That would be the best life at the end, of which no duty, no effort, had become impossible to us. Yet how often, before life is half over, is the duty obvious enough to others hidden from us by our false modes of living, or, if seen, is a thing which all tacitly allow is not to be expected from us.

There are two modes of providing for the wants of life; one the patriarchal mode, still practised in many parts of our country, though declining, since railroads carry work to every nook, and then bear out articles of luxury to tempt the wages back again. The other mode is only possible, in a highly civilized and thickly settled country, and perhaps only in a city. In patriarchal life I doubt if anything was carried to perfection; but perhaps "the lodging of a night" was "furnished with" sufficient "care." It has this to recommend it, however: when carried on even with small means, it makes processes dull in themselves, interesting by the feelings which accompany them. The farmer's wife who spins her own wool, and after it is woven, cuts from the cloth a suit of clothes for her husband, takes in them a pleasure no London or Paris coat can ever impart. But it seems a foolish indulgence of feeling to shape even the tiny mitten, or the first worn sock, when they are brought to the door for a trifle. Praise ascends not from the hearts of the congregation, but from hired voices, for refinement of taste helps convenience to banish sentiment from the common places it made so lovely; and there is danger it may die out when the hand of affection ceases to render daily services; but we must remember it was often choked or worn out, and it may now busy itself with more graceful offerings, and with less tangible services. Those who in country homes busy their hands with the garb and their thoughts with the wearer, are the fortunate of this world; but they are also the few, and by the many the civilized mode which makes life easy by bringing what they want within their reach must be adopted.

A man who in a city resolutely keeps his wants down to what they would have been in his native village, need never fear care. But we have several tendencies, some in common with all the present world, others peculiar to ourselves, which make this difficult. We are tempted, particularly the female portion of us, by all that is pretty, convenient, and especially by what is new; and cities, by wearing off quickly the gloss of novelty, increase this passion for the new. The taste that was once satisfied with home-made carpets runs rapidly up the scale to Imperials; crape leads to cashmere, plated to silver-gilt; and this with

a rapidity incredible to those who have not seen it in America. This expansiveness, this fitting one's self to the ancient armor of huge size, appropriating the names of departed Greeks and Romans, affords rich food for the satirist, and must outrage the feelings of the well-bred and conventional European. In nothing is it shown more than in the manner in which the expenditure of a rising man outruns his circumstances; I say outruns, not literally, but looking to the wisdom of the thing. In America every thing and every person is expected to do his utmost; money changes hands oftener and brings in more to its owner than anywhere else in the world. A man is rather voted spiritless who does not in one way at least do his utmost; and if in other ways, why not in show and expense, which bring an immediate gratification, and sometimes actual advantage? It is the spirit of the nation. Our ancestors did their utmost for their country and firesides, we do our utmost to appear as rich, and as well furnished and dressed as our neighbors. When we go among strangers, instead of feeling that we have our wealth in our heads, we prefer being judged by our dress and appearance.

Firstly, secondly, and thirdly, I would protest against this American tendency to do the utmost, when shown in dress, style of living, &c. I would always have a reserved fund, both of money and power, which I could bring to bear on any point in a moment. In character, a reserved fund gives weight and inspires confidence. It is because Americans often but just accomplish a thing, so that we feel they have all but failed, that we allow to them energy, but not weight of character. When the power is all available we see the limit of it, and feel a want of depth. On what a slender line does excellence move! We wish a man to have his powers available, and to be master of them, even in the smallest demonstration. How helpless a man is whose powers are not available! we begin to doubt whether the gift is there; but strange contradiction, the moment we feel that a man puts forth all his power, we turn from him, we miss the infinite. As a consciousness of unemployed power gives repose to character, so does a knowledge that your daily life is not eating up your capital give repose to life. There are many men in America who love not only to live to the edge of their income, but to add to the interest of business the excitement of risk. I am afraid they can build, and plan, and speculate just as happily and on just as large a scale with borrowed money as if they had an inalienable estate to fall back on. The fact is, every man considers his head and hands an inalienable and inexhaustible estate. While he has these sound he encourages in him-

self and family every taste, and gives them every pleasure. A niggardly husband or father is almost unknown in America. The man will often bear for years harassing fears, and incur ruinous risks, and give no sign of it at home. He wishes his wife to have no care, his children (they are the only ones who are really benefited) to have the best of educations; but he likewise wishes, and here lies the weakness, that she and they should make with him the voyage of life in a Cleopatra's barge of pleasure. Temptation does not wear to him her commonest form. To eat, to drink, and be merry, are not attractive to him except as part of a successful life. He thinks more of surrounding himself with books and objects of art, which he often wishes he could better appreciate. He is hospitable, public-spirited, grows liberal in his ideas and generous in his donations, he seeks out pining artists and youths of merit, and above all he tries to keep from his household the naughty spirits of care with a plug of gold. Yet, notwithstanding all that may be said of the anxieties of women in America, the fault lies not with their husbands, or at least is an unconscious one. The first ray of fortune brightens their cares, and they are left unconscious and happy when all around is a ruin. They are treated generously, but not fairly. It is a proof of love, though a mistaken one, to place them at a golden table on the summit of Olympus, while the Cyclops of a husband toils below in a cloud of care. As I have met in the morning anxious face after face, or seen in the evening men returning with hanging head and thoughtful brow, and have considered how gayly the wives of these careworn people flaunted in silks and satins the noontime which their husbands have spent so differently, I have often wished they could for one day accompany their husbands; could read their thoughts, could feel their agitations, their annoyances, their disappointments, could see how one trouble enters as another departs, how goblins of all sizes attend them, from the little imp, vexatious enough, but which cannot outlive the day, to the threatening fiend who will one day devour them.

The happiest man's life, whether professional or not, has enough that is trying to disgust a woman forever with unnecessary expense. I believe there is scarcely a woman to be found who, if she once saw the connection between the wrinkles which so early cover the face she loves and her own indulgences, would not forswear them forever; for there is no lack of sentiment and devotion in America; family feeling would be kept alive by our frequent reverses, if by nothing else. But the reserve of the man as to his fears, his openness as to his hopes, which in so far as they are manly are commendable, habits of expense,

and more than all, the wishes of the whole family, conceal from her this connection. What she saves or spends is but a drop in the bucket: her husband rather laughs at any attempt at economy, her health and peace are more to him and the children than the money he uses as counters; besides, he likes to see her well dressed, and at the head of a well-appointed table. She knows that business is full of risks and uncertainties, that every man is kept on the stretch; but never dreams it is in her power to slacken the straining strings, and bring down the mind of her husband to a natural tone. It is in her power—not by one or two fitful attempts at economy, but by reducing all which money brings to its just value; and then by trying to separate with a clean cut the essential from the superfluous. As she now lives, the superfluities of to-day become the essentials of to-morrow; a multitude of advantages, which in their results to be sure make the difference between the European and the savage, tempt her to expense. In each grade between these two extremes, the line of the essential, as well as of the desirable, shifts its place. In Europe, every one is born in some definite position, and educated accordingly; and circumstances, by forming his taste and character, decide what is essential to him. Here every man thinks he may achieve everything; one who achieves but little reproaches himself, as if it were want of will, not of power. Our brides rival Paris in the magnificence of their trousseaux; the traveller who left his native village a barefooted boy, may share with princes the first-class cars, or display steeds and turn-outs which kings might envy. The American has no fixed limit of what is essential to his happiness or to filling well his station. His station is always moving, and he wishes to be prepared beforehand to fill it properly. For himself he wishes to fill it by becoming accustomed to those surroundings which belong to a high station; and he hopes they may become a second nature to his children. He wishes them to be equal to all things, great or small, which may be demanded of them, to judge a constitution or a picture, to be president at home or envoy abroad. Thus you see nothing is excluded from what we may call the *possible essentials* to filling well our places in this country, and we are keenly alive to the degradation of filling them ill, especially in little things. Were this world all, our bold, rapid way of forcing ourselves forward might be called "making the most of life;" but the too eager pursuit of these superfluities crowds out what is more essential—spiritual life—which is often best nourished in the midst of poverty, sorrows, and disappointment.

Every part of our nature is attracted by superfluities, and grows

dainty. The intellect now-a-days is caught up in a perfect whirlwind of them. Even love of nature, that mysterious bond between the soul and its dwelling-place, which should give repose and add a charm to every day of every life, is in danger of being reserved for great occasions and the favored few. I could wish for all my countrymen a nature like Wordsworth's, which sees a beauty in common life, which loves not only the Alps and Niagara, but the daily sunsets. Is not this, after all, to be a man, and not a mere dilettante? It is petty to seek only the little excesses, the occasionally higher waves of the ocean of beauty which surrounds us. Man is sensitive to every change in his mercury, and is apt to be cold and uneasy unless the glass stands always at summer heat; by fixing his thoughts on one or two perfections only, he narrows his means of enioyment, and becomes thankless and discontented.

Let us return to our position between the most cultivated European and the Exquimaux, and decide what are those essentials for which we are willing those we love should meet a sea of troubles. On the one hand lie those common advantages which are essential to all, and do not (except with the extremely poor) depend on money; on the other those which are manifestly superfluous. It is with the broad ground between the two that we have to do; those influences which in our happy hours, when great interests are secured, present themselves as essential, but which, when the earth quakes under us, are at once thrown aside as superfluous. Intellectual culture, beyond what is needed for the character, knowledge of men and affairs, ability to enjoy society, a pleasant life, all these we must weigh, see what they are worth compared with one another, get from each one the kernel, the real good or pleasure it offers, without its expensive adjuncts, and then decide how much each is worth to us in our position, how we may combine them, which we can most easily obtain and which dispense with; and above all, whether all of them together are worth the peace which results from attempting no more than we can perform. These secondary goods and means of development can in a measure take the place of one another; the virtues and the feelings cannot. For want of one virtue readily excused by others, the hero is lost; all the other virtues blazoned on his tombstone or in his eulogy cannot help him at the critical moment. Every quality of mind or heart meets its strict reward, no one interferes with another, in vain do we pityingly or by a mental jugglery try to substitute one for another, nature and the "eternal course of things" forbid it; but the influences which develop the mind and heart may be substituted for one another, and no

flaw be seen in the structure, if only every part of the nature be cared for. And among these we must choose; for in this case "not to decide is to decide."

Avoiding the mistake of seeking, each man for all kinds of development, and preferring those which nature leads and circumstances allow us to pursue, and making ourselves ready to appreciate others if their time comes, we may hope to attain what is now denied to us, some originality. If we were a people of strong original tastes, as our variety of races promises, we should already have developed a great variety of modes of life. There would then be some absurdities and eccentricities, no doubt, but vastly more enjoyment. And after all, the real absurdity is, that a whole nation of sensible people, each possessing different tastes and capabilities, and requiring a different culture, should proceed to shape themselves on exactly the same model, and that a model borrowed from other countries. The extent and variety of our country happily forbid us perfect uniformity of life and character; and I think Americans are more and more every day feeling a right to be what nature meant them to be. It is not want of independence which makes them adopt indiscriminately European fashions; it is a feeling that where so much is good all must be, and a self-distrust which prevents them from discriminating. How can a backwoodsman or the child of a squatter, brought into society, judge what is suitable to his new position? Is it not safest for him to conform to, and excusable to go a little beyond, his model? Besides, in society and in fashionable life, an importance is given to trifles which misleads the inexperienced as to the value attached to them by those who originated them. Where the American feels he can judge, he is usually confident enough.

The grasp of fashion is in many respects weakened in America. But here, as every where else, it has one stronghold, the feminine heart. Try to explain its influence as you will, by the convenience of having things done all in one way, by the weakness of the feminine vision which soon tires of the same cut and color, by an innate love of bright colors and gay adornment, or an ill-directed love of pleasing, there is still a large remainder inexplicable by human reason. To one who hovered over the earth how droll would be the sight of a new fashion, a color like the dawn moving westward over the world! What reason could he assign for these so sudden changes—not utility, not always beauty? But civilized life brings so many questions that we are thankful to have some of them answered for us; an ideal may be purchased too dearly, if leisure is the price. Yielding, however, does not always

secure leisure; for fashion is apt to multiply her claims, and what is worse, the habit of conforming may extend to more important affairs.

The supremacy of fashion has more than one cause: the love of adornment, which one would hesitate to root out, lest some virtue should perish with it; the dread of not looking like other people, which, having no root, I trust will soon perish of itself; and the love of beauty, which, for want of better channels, flows through this most unworthy and seducing one. Art will do us this service among others: those women whose love of beauty now shudders at a coarse fabric or an ugly shape, who dress their own persons to perfection, and in every changing hour and season give real pleasure by the harmony of their attire, will find for their offerings a more worthy shrine than self. They will delight in color and form still, but their own dress will become subordinate, and will be arranged readily by a purified taste. If we give to fashion her utmost merit, we can only say that it adds to novelty, the charm of an idea; not a great idea, but a genuine recognition of beauty. This is true of texture, color, and of what gives more trouble in the empire of fashion, form. If in Paris a Kaleidoscope shifted forms and colors for the world, love of novelty would be gratified, but we should miss the potent thought which embodies a beauty in a change. At one extreme of society, the sway of fashion is scarcely felt, at the other it is easily obeyed. But in all except the extremes, it presses incessantly, and is felt by many to be in their cup the drop too much. The means of keeping up with the fashion, take the country through, are very inadequate. The execution falls very far short of the design. The more vividly the lady has before her eyes the beauties of a fashion, the more disappointed she is, when the sempstress, by an ill-judged cut or a trimming misapplied, spoils her charming ideal. Very moderate aims bring less disappointment; but on the whole, we may apply, with some exceptions, to our dress-making, millinery, and plain sewing, what Carlyle says of shirt-making in London:

"Many things have been written about shirt-making; but here perhaps is the saddest thing of all, not written anywhere till now, that I know of. Shirts by the thirty thousand are made at twopence-halfpenny each; and in the meanwhile no needle-woman, distressed or other, can be procured in London by any housewife to give, for fair wages, fair help in sewing. Ask any thrifty house-mother, high or low, and she will answer. In high houses and in low, there is the same answer: No real needle-woman, 'distressed' or other, has been found attainable in any of the houses I frequent. Imaginary needle-women, who demand considerable wages, I hear of everywhere; but their sewing

proves too often a distracted puckering and botching; not sewing, only a fallacious hope of it, a fond imagination of the mind."

If this be the case in London, what must it be where labor is scarce, sewing not always understood by the mistress, not required from the children, and neglected even in the public schools? If all unnecessary stitches were abolished, there are enough fingers to keep every one simply clothed, and we should never reach the condition of the great cities of Europe. I trust we shall never have manufactures like those of England, requiring such quickness of sense and motion, that only the very young can be employed on them, nor embroideries like those of France, a few years' work on which costs a young girl her sight.

If people did but understand it, so universal a love of dress and fashion defeats itself. Lady Wortley says,

"To look like a gentleman in the United States depends in nowise on the clothes, but entirely on their wearer, and the tailor has less to do with manufacturing a gentleman here, than in any other part of the world. In all other countries, you are a little assisted to the conclusion unwillingly by the dress; here *not in the least.*"

Thank Heaven, fashion meets greater obstacles in other portions of her realm. Houses and churches, streets and gardens, are, to be sure, often metamorphosed, and it is no unusual thing, in town or country, to see buildings moved bodily when it pleases the owner to change their site. But the requirements of a changing population, and some natural fickleness, may account for this. The taste for splendid furniture so prevalent here is, I believe, partly attributable to the absurd magnificence with which steamboats and hotels are often furnished, which awakens new desires in uninstructed minds. This is, however, rather a love of show and splendor than of fashion; and it dwells in an outer circle of self-love. A few years will show whether it will give place here to love of real beauty and fitness, or whether, when the wave of civilization reaches the Pacific, it will be rich only in barbaric pomp and gold.

There are other characteristics of our people connected with love of novelty which it is more difficult to pardon than devotion to fashion. I mean their fickleness and their proneness to rages. Moderation, steadfastness, are the last acquirements both of nations and individuals. The pendulum must swing to and fro before it finds its right place. Disgust at a raw mode of life makes the refined over-fastidious; the man who has been too great for his sphere creates for his children a sphere larger than they can fill. In every part of life, great and small, we see this swaying of the pendulum; and I believe it will

settle into the right point. Our apparent fickleness has some foundation in a genuine love of the best—of hearing, seeing, obtaining the best; but there is also a narrowing ambition which rejects all but the one best. For the American there can be but one hatter, one singer, one opera company; but the sensible Englishman believes there is more than one man who can build, weave or write for him. If the American thus learns to reject all but the one best in morals, we will pardon him his present follies. The freedom of republican life encourages him to utter freely his admiration and his disappointment, and an excitable temperament often causes the expression to outrun the real feeling. Since this proneness to rages is found in all classes, it must be considered a national fault, and one quite disgraceful to those whose cultivation should give them more dignity and judgment. Thus far cultivation, by developing more numerous affinities, makes the more refined portion of the community subject to more attractions, and thus more fickle; but I hope this is only a transition state. I am afraid the interest expressed so loudly has not always a generous origin. It may be partly enthusiasm, but it is partly curiosity, a desire to know the utmost which human nature can achieve in every direction. It is a way the American has of prosecuting his study of mankind, and filling up his sketch of human capabilities. And it must be owned he has a most lordly way of squeezing the orange and throwing away the peel.

July, 17th 1852.

My dear Madame Pulszky:—The material prosperity of the United States allows a man to overlook some of his highest duties; the woman suffers from an undue enlargement of the minor ones. A man has very nearly the same daily claims here as in Europe; he need not be overwhelmed by them unless he endeavors to lead several lives in one. Many men here lead two lives: one of business and one of pleasure; one of labor by day, and another of gayety at night. Scientific men who come here and attempt to add social enjoyment to their labors, break down at once, and cannot understand the nervous energy which makes change of object sufficient rest for an American. With a woman, the case is different; she rarely volunteers more variety of life than circumstances demand of her, for she is claimed on different counts over and over again, both soul and body, time and thoughts. Her life is a defenceless territory, from which every occupation conquers a province; and there can never be peace or order within the borders till a vigorous central power adjusts their rights. The refined Mrs. Moodie,

hoeing and digging in the wilds of Canada, that she might keep her children from famishing, had satisfaction; while it was a struggle for life, hoeing and digging were her duties, the moment more enlarged ones were possible, she had a right to prefer them. It is thus with us: satisfy us that it is our duty to wear our youth out in domestic cares, and it is cheerfully done; but is it not better to devote our powers to something higher, to something nearer those we love? The American girl, when she marries, has often a higher ideal than the man; and this ideal is more exalted than his by sentiment. She is often older than he in character, and altogether promises to become a finer person. In a few years, domestic cares have lowered the customary tone of her thoughts; the man, meanwhile, has developed in the larger sphere of life. Through middle life, he seems her superior; his talk is better than hers, unless you touch her where her heart can speak; but in old age, when the incrustations of the world lie heavy upon him, when it is a question of giving up, and not of doing, the patient endurance which has made her life gives a grace to her character, and a sweet serenity to her face. How much happier might middle life and old age be, could the woman's cares be diminished, and the family make a larger part of the life of the husband! Men are generous and willing, but are apt to neglect the inner circles of duty, to put their profession and politics before all but the more obvious claims of a family. The outer circles of duty may be more exciting, more dazzling, but the interest deepens as it contracts. A man may become reconciled to an unhappy, even a mistaken, life, when this teaches him the wisdom which he, and he alone, can give to his children. Nor does he give only,—but receive. He grieves over his own imperfection, which makes his child not only unwilling, but unable, to learn by his experience. He is ashamed of his faults, he checks the exaggerations which bring discredit on his lessons.

The cares which in the Old World kept within their proper limits, assume here the statue of a giant. Fortunately, as with most giants, their size may often be reduced by a bold heart. Household duties may be made to fill a lifetime, they must occupy more space here than elsewhere; is it not then perfectly absurd to introduce styles of living suited only to countries where labor is cheap? We cannot regret the dearness of labor here, it is a proof of the universal well-being, but may we not live so as to require the aid of others less? I would have everything so simple that it could be often renewed and easily taken care of; I would seek freshness rather than splendor, beauty than costliness.

Above all, I would have each family live independently, according to its means.

"Madame D'Arblay and her husband and son subsisted for a considerable time on an income not exceeding £125 a year. Madame D'Arblay writes to her sister that the minutiæ of her domestic life would make her 'laugh to see, though perhaps cry to hear.' With all this, her mind and thoughts were never shut up in her economy. The most distinguished and excellent of two countries were welcomed to their frugal fare, and their hand and purse were always open to distress."

I have known families of taste and cultivation who lived here on the same sum; but it requires the most rigid economy, and economy is so foreign to our people, and is so confounded in their ideas with meanness, that it brings peculiar difficulties. There must be something in our liberal expenditure shocking to the thrifty Englishwoman, who has won her way through life by her skill in saving and in making a little go a great way. She must feel there is no room here where the question is not how little of a thing will suffice, but how much can be used, for that science of economy which she has spent a lifetime in acquiring; yet nowhere is she more needed. Let her go to the West and show the beauty and comeliness of order, let her teach them not to poison the gifts of Providence, nor to waste with reckless prodigality the plenty which starving thousands hunger for in vain. Let her persuade the New England girls of her own rank that fine feathers do not make fine birds. But this, I fear, would be hopeless. We may warn as we will, the love of dress is destined to run a mighty race among American women; and I fear until we have a little of the biting experience of the Old World, the American domestic will place her chief happiness in putting on her velvet mantilla and silk dress on Sundays, and feeling herself every bit as good as her mistress. And why should she not? She is almost as well lodged and clothed, and possibly as well educated.

Would that instead of this vision of hats and dresses, which is so irresistible to the female imagination in America, there could be presented an equally attractive picture of a neat little homestead smiling in the wilderness, blooming with real and not artificial roses, the permanent fruits of easy and well-rewarded toil, sweetened by the spirit of hope, not of vanity. This frugality may come in time; the tastes of the poorer classes will follow those of the richer; and so long as our wealth flows in the vulgar channels of dress and upholstery, and not in

the nobler walks of benevolence, love of art, or development of individual tastes and character, those who look upon themselves as but a week behind us in climbing will not be much wiser than we. We are the pioneers of society, and on us it depends to give a refined and elevated character to the aspirations of the people.

Economy as extreme as is practised in England is not desirable here. The abundance of material and the scarcity of labor make many kinds of saving no economy; and I rejoice that in this respect we are relieved from fixing our eyes on little things; if economy has the second voice in every argument, it is very apt insensibly to usurp the chief place. As to labor, I am glad that a man's services are rated high. I love the house where the laborer is held worthy of his hire, where the tedious work meets no scanty or grudged reward, where the poor depart with a blessing, and old services are not forgotten.

Next to the claims of housekeeping those of children are most preternaturally enlarged in America. "Eight mothers to one child should be the rule there, not one mother to eight children." There is no sufficient help in taking care of them, and mothers see too clearly that early education makes the man, to be willing to entrust them to any influence but their own. We cannot regret the time thus employed; we can only regret that so much of the mother's strength is required in the early years that she often ceases to be a companion for them when most wanted. The fire which should have brightened the whole of life has flared up and gone out. In many families everything is sacrificed to the children; the mother who offers herself up as a victim has a sort of right to ask others to throw their pleasures, comforts, leisure on the blazing pile. The children, meanwhile, living much with their parents, add to the wants of children those of men and women; boys of ten and twelve criticise a supper-table and know the flavor of champagne; girls of fourteen cannot get along without their operas, concerts and rehearsals. There is no affectation in all this, it is done perfectly naturally; yet we cannot but regret that the period of simple natural pleasures is so much abridged, that the opera and the ball-room, which foster love of show and vanity, take the place of those social circles where genuine friendships might grow up. The hours which should be spent in disciplining and storing the mind, and preparing it to comprehend in its full significance whatever life offers, are wasted in a rash and crude enjoyment which soon changes to satiety. Some mothers, finding their own after lives hard, and losing early the power of enjoyment, cannot bear to deprive their children of anything they can possibly enjoy, and so many mothers allow their

children to follow in all things their own fancies that it is impossible for the few who see the evil to stem it. The false ideas, the morbid sufferings caused by this state of things, are among the saddest things in America. I have almost thought that to shut girls in a convent till some maturity was secured for them, would be a better course. A retired and solid education would then prevent the intellect from being frittered away in brilliant repartee, the heart in popular caressing manners.

To girls who at fifteen have heard and seen the best and most exciting that reaches our shores, common life which wraps their real happiness is unendurable. It would require a superhuman firmness in them to be true to their best interests in the midst of this tide of pleasure. They lose repose, dignity, and balance of character. But, when the severer duties of married life call, they drop their gauzy wings, and leave without regret this life of excitement and dissipation for one of anxiety and self-devotion. The first twenty years of their lives, they pass in learning to know and value much which they pass the second twenty in learning to forego. Formerly in most parts of the country the education was one to supply resources. To the higher classes it gave command of their powers, it introduced them to all that was valuable in literature, it enabled them to appreciate all which they could ever hear in society, or meet with in books; it gave enlargement, strength, richness. Our nearness to Europe now adds to the former requirements an education for society. To live on the thoughts of Dante and Schiller is not enough, we must also speak their tongues. All talents which shine in society are cultivated; more knowledge of art and music is required. The day which before seemed full is now overflowing, and yet the whole period allowed for education is unwisely shortened. At the same time the health, which might otherwise be improved, is sapped by early introduction to late hours and exciting amusements, by over-stimulus.

Housekeeping and the care of children unavoidably make larger claims on time in America than elsewhere. The claims of society differ in different parts of the Union, and in different circles; each person may interpret them his own way. As society is now managed, the same amount of pleasure and advantage requires a greater sacrifice of time here than elsewhere. I should like to see the whole life more social, and society not made a separate thing. Company and visiting are but a small portion of the social life; a much more valuable one is the free and friendly intercourse between all classes. This will give nerve to the higher classes, refinement and self-respect to the others.

In proportion as society is exclusive, it becomes injurious; if our social life is open and generous, we shall become happier and more liberal in our sentiments. We are but just beginning to recognize not only the obligations, but the pleasures of society, and to value it as a means of destroying prejudices, of enlargement both to head and heart. As St. Pierre says, "we need a diet of company as well as a diet of food." Increased facilities of travelling bring more varieties of people together, and make our society daily more interesting. Even within our own borders are diversities of life and character, which only a free social intercourse can make mutually understood. I hope we shall value genuine society more and more, and learn to buy it at a less price. It is now usually the first thing given up by those who must sacrifice something. This is partly owing to the foolish way in which we import European fashions in the frame, and set them up in the wilderness; we engraft the manners and notions of richer communities on our own. How pleasant to receive into our lives the experiences of others, to sympathize with them, to study their differences, to feel our characters touching each one at a different point! How pleasant to learn the variety of gifts with which God has endowed his creatures! I believe no one can do the smallest thing with unusual grace without some peculiar natural gift as the foundation. How charmingly these flowers develop themselves in the warm atmosphere of sympathy and admiration! Well might Bishop Taylor say that in some sense or other we must think ourselves the worst in every company where we come.

Conversation, too, may be an inexhaustible pleasure and stimulus. What other means of human intercourse is so elastic?—it embraces "gray science and the evergreen tree of life"—what other so kindling to the imagination and the feelings?

People now meet in large assemblies with a great waste of time and money, at the dead of night, after they are worn out with the fatigues of the day. But of that social friendly visiting, which warms the heart and softens the manners, there is little, except in small towns and in the country. When we learn that an evening may be enjoyed without victimizing either wife or purse, many who really value and love society will open those doors which a foolish pride has closed. It will be acknowledged that the style in which a man receives his friends should depend on his means; an easy face and friendly manner will be our best welcome, and more expensive adjuncts will be found where alone they are becoming—in the houses of the wealthy. False pride and an extravagant standard of living are not, however, the only obstacles to a free social life. The master of the house cannot, or thinks

he cannot, command time from his business, the mistress can never be secure from fatigue with her children; and, worse than this, there is generally an unwilling temper among domestics, which lies like a black spirit at the threshold of all hospitality. Most mistresses would rather give up society than domestic peace, and cannot enjoy a friend if there are sour looks in the kitchen.

In the South, where a crowd of slaves takes the place of our "help," hospitality is as free as in any part of the world; but in the free States, where the work of the day is in most families barely accomplished, the stranger must often be a burden within the gates. In the South, one wardrobe only is to be provided; in the North, two or three are needed each year, and must be stored and cared for. Stoves and furnaces, and the daily fever of fires, are unknown there; here, thrift and the minor virtues become indispensable. The "Southern matron" is the slave of her slaves; the dweller in "a new home" is ridden over rough-shod, by greedy and relentless neighbors; in the Eastern States there is a more subtle danger, that of becoming the slave of things. Those who have an honest, hearty intention to do well what they find to do, cannot reconcile themselves to doing any thing deliberately amiss. The love of excellence in work and housekeeping becomes a snare which holds them to the earth. I would not lower the standard, but would cut off the objects of care. The multiplication of conveniences and of objects of fancy brings so much care, that neatness threatens to be the Moloch of modern times. Our love of excellence has a strong alloy of "indignation against defect." Dislike of the slovenly fashions of a new country becomes over-devotion to neatness, method, and the minor virtues, of which it is possible to have too much. The higher virtues and feelings are crowded out. The heart that readily bestows the means for a night's lodging, cannot derange its domestic economy by taking the vagrant beneath its roof. What are the sufferings of the poor sailor to her who in her midnight watches forebodes smoky chimneys and a fall of soot? Nay, why should you speak of windflowers and early violets to one to whom April suggests only spring cleanings and abundance of rain? Far be it from me to undervalue good housekeeping, that which keeps life in the infant, and reason in the man; but I do not want to make life all housekeeping, nor to see it wholly a prey to things. I rejoice that the love of travelling uproots many families in America, and saves them from becoming fastidious and over-attached to things. I only wish that those who live in a country where mere living demands so much thought and time, should not embarrass their march with much baggage. Let all things

which are merely captivating, and require care, be viewed with suspicion, and relentlessly sent across the threshold; good and fair though they be, they are not fair for us, if purchased at the expense of tenderness or serenity.

It has often been said that intellect in a woman is a foe to domestic comfort; but in America, at least, a sensible woman makes the best housewife. It requires no little character and some genius to steer clear of anarchy and of slavery, I mean slavery of the mistress to the servants. A family requires for its management the same faculties as a kingdom. Agricola, we are told, was thought fit to govern Britain because he had managed well his own family, which was esteemed as difficult as to control a province. Neither is a perfect machine to be wound up and abandoned, neither has a self-sustaining or adjusting force. Those who have taken upon themselves the responsibility of a family are bound to supply this force; and with us it is expected of the wife. There are as many ways of ruling a family as a State. Some women use an infinity of words; they are the politicians, the busybodies. Is there a difficulty? they have a "talk," and persuade over the offender. Others, by mere weight of character, show that they expect each one to do her duty. Others resemble those public men who rise by means of one rule; they make everything yield to the Juggernaut of domestic convenience. They *will* carry every point which concerns this, and do not grudge for it the time and thought which were given for eternity.

Housekeeping divides itself into what concerns persons, by far the most important, and what concerns things; and again into arrangements and details. A delicate nature often understands all which concerns personal relations by intuition, but beats its wings in vain against the dry details of things. Yet, unless these things are properly attended to, there can be no genuine well-being for persons. The wants and the claims of each member of the family should be understood and compared with one another. Infancy must be cared for, youth must have its pleasures and its golden opportunities, old age its precious modicum of enjoyment. The relation of mistress must be entered into, and a good example set by fulfilling generously its claims. It is not in the main a disagreeable relation in the United States, its annoyances lie chiefly on the surface. It is a suitable one to exist between one human being and another, and as such we should be contented with it. Better live with those we respect, though they may keep a little too near, than have under our roof a crew without principle or intelligence; better have to yield our own will than be exposed to the temptation

of absolute power. Here service is a compact and a relation in one, and subject to the infirmities of both; the imperfect fulfilment of contracts troubles all public life, betrayed or neglected relations are the trial of private life; between mistress and servant there is room for both kinds of evils. It is for the superior to fulfil both obligations; if all do so, we shall not long complain of this part of housekeeping.

On the whole, a mistress who knows what she wants, and what she has a right to, may be well enough served. She cannot live at her ease, as those of the same fortune might in Europe; she must either aim at less, or else devote to domestic affairs a large portion of her time. But this knowing what she wants, and what she has a right to, is not so easily secured. American girls are so little in the house, and are so early introduced to society, that few of them have any preparation for the cares of a family. "Preposterous," as Sallust says, "who after they are appointed to an army, begin to study the lives of great generals."

Let me say a few words as to the two ways of spending the strength, in detail, or in arrangement, which consists in choosing the best mode of action; the former is Celtic, the latter Saxon: The former is empirical, requires less effort at first, but is more exhausting in the end; and in a world where all things are subject to chance, is usually preferred by women. They do not mind a few leaks in the vessel, which after all they may not be called upon to stop. Occasionally, about as often as a prize is drawn in a lottery, this want of plan succeeds, and it is difficult therefore to induce women to make, in the first place, the effort of thinking out the best arrangement, and bearing it on their consciences and memory afterwards. Yet this is the only way becoming a reasonable being, the only way to give confidence to those who share our voyage, and who may be less sanguine, or more orderly than ourselves. Let woman study science, that she may learn order, in the great school of order. She will see it joined to beauty, and severed from dulness and monotony, she will learn to love it, and will introduce it into her little world. She more than man needs continually to keep before herself the ideal she is carrying out, because she is busy with such very small details. Her feelings do this for her continually, and with a vivacity no effort can imitate; but this is only in some parts of her life. If the whole is arranged according to a worthy plan, she will be sustained and interested in all, and look with horror on a life spent in expedients and the stopping of gaps.

The discontent of domestic life does not arise entirely from dissatisfaction with results, but partly from regret at the time and thoughts

given to them. When this is the case, remember martyrdom by the needle is as acceptable as martyrdom by the sword. Care, within its natural limits, is necessary and wholesome; but there is a care of human, not divine, origin; and if with hasty grasp we seek to pluck every flower of life, we shall come off with our hands full of thorns. Let us choose those blossoms for our parterre which will not cost too dear in the raising, and be content to admire and not possess the rest. Let woman in particular be careful how she entertains aims which will eat into her hoarded leisure. She does not, like man, keep her pleasures separate from the rest of her life; everything is in danger of becoming a passion with her. If her choices and her tastes speak louder than her moral preferences, she gets a false standard of character. There was but one sphere for Mary, but many snares for Martha; all aims which gratify the intellect and taste only, are specious Marthaisms.

For both aims and claims, for pleasures and the leisure to enjoy them, money is eagerly sought in the United States. Even without our largeness of aims the question of support would have great prominence. Every man has to make the ground he stands on. Hence to every man comes a painful period of doubt as to his own powers. He doubts whether his occupation is worthy, whether as society now is he can follow it without losing his early aspirations; and lastly, whether even if all else is right, it is the work for him. In so far as this is a discipline needed to form the judgment, to sharpen the perceptions, to lower self-confidence and strip worldly success of its charm, we would acknowledge in it the hand of Providence. It is often a short though sharp trial, and the quickness with which it is forgotten by the successful shows that they at least could not spare it from life. But to those, perhaps His favored children, whom God has not created to command success, the trial is a depressing, perhaps a life-long one, and we have a right to ask, whether, by our habits of expense and false ideas of what is needed, we do not prolong this period, and cut them off from happiness they are peculiarly fitted to enjoy. The necessity of gaining a support may press hard, it may show ugly in our social life; but it lies at the core of all independence of character. We cannot admire any life, however beautiful, if this skeleton of independence be wanting. Beauty demands that it should be concealed, but we must never for an instant doubt that it is there. We cannot excuse even the man of large gifts and rich endowments if he does not perform this fundamental duty.

Besides feeling the necessity of support, the American has an in-

stinct which bids him "keep poverty at a sublime distance." The dread of it is a spectre which enters more easily our palaces of to-day, than the castles of the Old World. It may be doubted whether it is not always present the skeleton at the banquet, whether its threats do not influence every public and private affair. Who would ask alms for the starving Irish, a ransom for the fugitive slave, when stocks are depressed, when the merchant is fearing ruin, and the man of fortune finds himself without an income? Into every judgment and valuation this question of money, of means, intrudes itself. Yesterday you thought no education good enough for your sons, you burned to bring the refining influences of foreign art to the doors of your countrymen. To-day things look dark, your children must get along like others, your countrymen must wait till they can refine themselves.

Money is in America more than elsewhere a substitute for time. All the claims cry "Money or Time." Education, housekeeping, society, demand money, and again money. When domestic affairs chafe, the man says, "Put a sheath of gold on it, smooth it over, and make it easy. What do I make money for, but that my little wife may be easy?" But the wife, unless she be *very little*, is not satisfied with this. She wants to make things right, not to smooth them over; particularly if she sees her husband dwarfed and darkened by cares and the counting-house. Women feel that there is something base in this compromise; it is a bribery to which no one will descend who feels his cause just, and himself able to maintain it. She cannot waste hundreds for her own ease, and read in the papers of starving wretches; she feels that she also has a part to act in the economy. I believe Providence gave to each sex a different function, because it would be too painful to the bread-winner perpetually to give away as it were his own life, drop by drop, to supply the common necessities. While the man works he has the ideal of his family before him, and not the petty sums which his wife disburses. Her part is to be faithful and wise in administering the thousand parts which make up the whole. But if, in order to keep up a certain position, she must choose between taxing her husband overmuch or engaging in a daily struggle which must end in making her unlovely and hard, how much better it would be for her while still young and fresh to choose a more simple form of life, and one whose duties she can perform gracefully and cheerfully.

Let each one separate first all the details which are required to satisfy herself from those which are adopted from conventionalism; she can enforce the former with dignity and success, and if she throws overboard the latter, the ship will be lighter by half its cargo. Let her

learn whether the difficulties which beset her are realities or shadows; often they live only in her fears, one true word will dispel them. Let her decide what degree of polish is attainable without the loss of better things; let her remember, however, that each successive coating costs more and is worth less. Let her dress never outshine herself. Its becomingness does not depend upon its richness, as every painter knows. Excessive dress, and particularly very bright colors, often take from the face all expression, and reduce it to a square (often a blank one) of the patchwork. Let her seek simplicity, freshness and suitability, and nothing more, unless her means amply warrant it. If American women have that prettiness and native refinement foreigners remark in them, they need less than others the ornament of dress. Theirs is not a style of beauty, nor are their lives such as to make elaborate dress becoming.

Let her life and her manners flow from her character. Let them be the fragrance of the flower; and may there be a variety of flowers and of perfumes. The character has a right to express itself in manner, and will do so if all hindrances are removed. As in the fairy tale the hair from the prince's head gave a description of his character and of the scenes he had passed through, so should the presence give us the result of life. The manner should express the habitual character, and dimly hinting at what has been or may be felt, should add the light or shadow of the momentary mood. The exquisite charm of that manner which only the most varied and refined society can impart, which says and does, and looks the only right thing at the right moment, may not be for us. But even this divides itself into two parts, one of which some natural sentiment and high culture, even with a retired life, can bestow. Without the graces of a court, we may have that delicate and rapid appreciation of every shade of meaning and of feeling which makes a person a most delightful companion; and we are perhaps the more likely to keep it, the less we are conscious of it, the more we are occupied with things themselves and not with their effect on others.

This brings us to education again; education forms the character, but society must have a high character to choose a high education. The snow will melt on the mountains when the weather grows warm; we shall have warm weather when the snow is melted on the mountains. Each waits for the other, and will wait forever, unless those who see a little what is wanted, throw themselves into the melee, and fight double-handed,—keeping off life with one hand, and beckoning on education with the other. Thus, gradually, they clear the field for the

next generation. It is more difficult to choose the best details of education than of life, because education acts (so far as it regards purposes) for the future, and life for the present; in America, life moves with such breathless rapidity that the purpose of to-day is a blank to-morrow. It is said that want of unity of credence proves a science to be in its infancy; that when the exact truth is reached there can be but one credence. If we apply this to the science of education, we must suppose it to be in its swaddling clothes in Americoa, for no two persons you meet are likely to agree on any point. And there is perhaps more difference of opinion as to the education of women than of men. I would have a woman so educated that her husband could nowhere find a better friend, her children a more enlightened guide. She is man's companion in the universe. She has the same right to appreciate and enjoy it. If a sad necessity compels her in these times to become his fellow-laborer in active scenes, let her be so educated that she can do it with as little expenditure of strength as possible. Experience will soon show those who clamor so loudly to extend her sphere of action, that continuous labor is not for her; it will be to man an additional incitement to exertion to save her from that which nature forbids. He will think it essential that woman should be well provided for in his scheme of life. A civilization which allows him to lead a life of pure thought, to révolutionize the world on $800 a year, and confines his wife to the kitchen and the needle, will not satisfy him. He will make woman's labor (if she must labor) light, not perplexing, such as she can perform in the retirement of her home. Already this generosity of the American towards women is a national characteristic. Nowhere is the labor of women so well rewarded in proportion to that of men. Here is a great problem of modern days which we can set right, and which I fully believe we shall set right; if not, it will be the fault of woman's friends more than her enemies, of those who claim that

> "Le donne son venute in eccellenza
> Di ciascun' arte, ove hanno posto cura,"

and would urge them, therefore, to enter every field as competitors. They would take from woman two of the greatest advantages Heaven has given her: they would insist on her serving a hard apprenticeship to knowledge, when Heaven meant she should only receive and dispense the fruits of man's researches; and would demand from her a power of creation which she does not often possess, and which perhaps would unfit her for that enjoyment and enlargement which she gains through

sympathy. They bid her, too, spend all she has gathered on the stranger, barter it away, valued or unvalued, when Heaven meant she should enrich with it those nearest her heart, or, at least, the orphan and the desolate.

While it remains doubtful whether woman's "clock is to be set for time or for eternity," whether she is to bloom in seclusion or stride along the highways of life, retain her natural proportions or be tortured into an exotic, there must be great differences of opinion as to education. We are more perplexed than Phineus, whom the Gods compelled to see always a double Thebes in his horizon. We see all the cities of Europe, and would unite the peculiar accomplishments of each; fortunate if we find no enemies but time and space, no innate incompatibility between them, if, like colors brought together at random, they do not ruin one another as all but nature's colors do.

There are two kinds of refinement: one which demands but little, makes but little ravage in the world; another barbaric, which demands the best of everything and finds nothing good enough, which lays waste whole fields for a pineapple, which proves itself the true princess by feeling three peas under twenty feather beds. One is lovely in woman and easily attained in any circumstances, the other unlovely under whatever delicate phrases and lofty pretensions it is veiled. Does not every false or excessive refinement in outer things partake of this latter kind? Is it a genuine refinement not to be able to endure this, to have a horror of that, to ransack a continent for your table, or send across the seas for your wardrobe? Is it not ungenerous to make such a great hole in the world, to crush so many roses for one fragrant drop? If our women had more faith in character and less in outward means, they would never lend their influence to the pursuit of wealth. Let them hear what one of their countrymen says about wealth.

"Wealth is a great means of refinement, and it is a security for gentleness, since it removes disturbing anxieties; and it is a pretty promoter of intelligence, since it multiplies the avenues for its reception; and it is a good basis for a generous habit of life; it even equips beauty, neither hardening its hand with toil, nor tempting the wrinkles to come early. But whether it provokes greatly that returning passion, that abnegation of soul, that sweet trustfulness, and abiding affection which are to clothe your heart with joy, is far more doubtful."

July 22nd, 1852.

My Dear Madame Pulszky:—There are some remarks of Hartley Coleridge's which are so full of wisdom for us Americans, that I hope you will excuse my quoting them.

"A mere apprenticeship is not good education.

"Whatever system of tuition is solely adapted to enable the pupil to play a certain part in the world's drama, whether for his own earthly advantage, or for that of any other man or community of men, is a mere apprenticeship. It matters not whether the part be high or low, the hero or the fool.

"A good education, on the other hand, looks primarily to the right foundation of the man in man, and its final cause is the well-being of the pupil, as he is a moral, responsible, and immortal being.

"But, because to every man there is appointed a certain ministry and service, a path described of duty, a work to perform, and a race to run, an office in the economy of Providence, a good education always provides a good apprenticeship, for usefulness is a necessary property of goodness.

"A man whose education is without apprenticeship, will be useless; a man whose education is all apprenticeship, will be bad, and therefore pernicious, and the more pernicious in proportion as his function is high, noble or influential."

We occasionally find Americans who believe all growth comes from within, and reject apprenticeship altogether. But I believe it is a more common fault to allow the life to be a succession of apprenticeships, each as short as possible, and chosen at random. There is danger in thus always working for a purpose. It is better for us to dwell on the connection of cause and consequence than on that of means and result. It is more consonant with our ideas of the greatness of God to believe that he created the universe good than for final causes; and it is more noble and safer for us to act steadily from a principle than for a purpose, for gradually the purpose is apt to take the place of the principle. A person who always looks to the purpose, misses it as a stimulus in all that large portion of life and chararter, where we need to restain and not to stimulate; for he can do nothing without a purpose, every thing with one. A purpose is a pleasant exitement, and helps us wonderfully over a heavy road; and that we may have its aid, the objects before us appear wonderfully large in the perspective of life. But the glass which enlarges is apt to distort; we ought often to lay it down and view things as they really are without reference to

the uses or pleasures we hope from them. When things are done for a purpose, too, success is apt to be the test of merit. In this country, there is neither time nor ability to judge of most men except by their success. Few people trouble themselves to analyze the elements of success in each case, but believe there is a mysterious something which deserves their praise. For

> "Fu il vincer sempre mai laudabil cosa,
> Vincasi o per fortuna o per ingegno."

We have as yet room enough for every one to succeed, in America, so that success need not involve any selfishness or hardness to others. The danger lies more in the consequences than the pursuit; for success is often the mere hot-bed of vanity. When success in life is considered subordinate to character, all will be right; those who have it will not be elated, those to whom it is denied will not be utterly disheartened, but will learn from failure the lesson intended.

Success is a good test of the vigor of some parts of character, but not of the elevation of the character as a whole. I should like to see those qualities valued which do not of themselves command success or depend on it. In a new country certain single traits, such as energy or spirit, are so much needed that they often represent the whole character; and thus the quantity is in danger of seeming more valuable than the quality of character. I should like to see it recognized that every one may have completeness of character, though every one may not be multifariously endowed, and to see the distinction between character and acquirement, and that between character and gifts, regarded; for in our country these are practically confounded. Thus, when a distinguished foreigner comes here, we expect him to be a judge of everything, however wide of his sphere, and waste his time by calling on him to pronounce on matters which he has never studied, and which are of no interest to him. There is, as yet, not much division of intellectual labor, and very little of intellectual interest. We are all interested in everything; and this promises a wide development, if we only secure leisure for it by cutting off the outward life.

Circumstances compel us to have character enough; it is for us to secure the highest type of character. Let us not be content to go ahead of the world in one or two particulars, and neglect all which makes life beautiful and tender. Let us rather live so as to complete our characters. Now, when the bullion of life is to be cast anew, let us give it a form suited to the capacities of the whole man. Let us avoid provincialism because it is narrowing and distasteful, but let us

not become mere cosmopolites. We are not air plants, we must strike root and have homes somewhere, or our finest qualities lie dormant. Let us study the Old World, and separate its wheat from its chaff, that we may choose what is best for the land we love. Let us act out here its best ideas, not swayed by "predominant opinions, which are almost always those of the age which is vanishing." Let us seek enlargement and independence; the new scene will give us nationality and raciness. Let us value character more than special gifts. Gifts are more productive of results, but they have their snares; they brighten life for others, but often ruin it for him to whom they are given. Let us seek consistent characters and a symmetrical development. An inconsistent character is treacherous to others. No characters are so hopeless as those where good and bad qualities grow up side by side; we cannot trust the foundation. I hope in this respect we shall follow the Saxon rather than the Celtic tendency. The moral sense of the Saxon is applied to his whole life; the Celt, particularly in France, seems to act from different principles in different parts of his character. He has not the corresponding qualities in morals and in the intellect; he has intellectual accuracy, but often a crooked line in morals. Let us hope that the qualities of the two races will be happily mingled. Already we see some improvement in that branch of the Celtic family which is united with ours. Their powers have become available and more like those of the French, now that they are blended with the Anglo-Sazon sagacity; and they have quickened this. Let us hope the anxious American expression will be softened by the more genial, careless spirit they infuse, that as the wave of immigration penetrates our interior, it will carry with it some of that light-heartedness which, if not necessary to reconcile us to life, certainly serves to embellish it. It is said that the American has a wonderful power of absorbing other natures, that in twenty years the German is no longer a German, but has the restlessness, ambition, energy of the American, and even his tone and expression. If in this process he sheds some flowers of fancy, gayety, and sentiment, may they not fall in vain on this soil of bare realities, but mingle with the excellent grain, the substantial good fruits it so largely produces?

If, instead of copying the worn-out models of Europe, we form a high ideal and let the minor traits develop themselves, how simple and manly, and even interesting, may our national character become! Our lives may have the interest which, since the days of the patriarchs, human arrangements have denied to all but the fervently religious, that of feeling an immediate dependence on God. Events follow each other

with such rapidity here, that we, more than others, can trace in a few years the workings of God's providence; we can understand his dealings with men, we can live, as it were, nearer to Him, and become as far as He permits helpers in the great whole. Is not this privilege worth all those of the Old World? There is no screen of kings or government interposed between Him and us; what He allows or guides our hearts to do, there is no one to hinder. On our decisions, our character, everything depends. No longer does He allow His gifts to be hidden, or the weakling to usurp the high places. He replenishes the foremost ranks with those whom He has chosen to fill them, those who can do His work best.

"Rade volte risurge per li rami
L'umana probitade; e questo vuole
Quei che la da, perche da l ui si chiami."

For what a variety of virtues does this changing of the ranks, according as God orders, give room!

We cannot, say some false refiners, have the most beautiful form and character in a class who work, who do not ignore money, nor the highest tone of conversation without exemption from care. What do these idlers mean by exemption from care, except exemption from every serious, manly thought? After hewing from the block the true image of manhood, would they not refine and polish, till suddenly manhood is gone? Do they not confound the gifts, which charm for an hour with living and enduring beauty of character, the jet from a Grecian urn, with the rush of a mighty river? This belief in idleness is a reaction from our busy struggling life, which shocks delicate natures, and makes them wish to retire to their gardens of ease. I trust it will never be our national sentiment. No—whatever the gospel may be in other lands, here it is work; let the world rejoice that we have come into it, come not like a thief and a robber, to get as much and do as little as we can, but to understand our part and be true to it.

"Other creatues all day long
Rove idle unemployed, and less need rest;
Man hath his daily work of body and mind
Appointed, which declares his dignity,
And the regard of Heaven on all his ways;
While other animals inactive range,
And of their doings God takes no account."

We have not shrunk from the physical task, let us not yield the spiritual privilege into other hands. Let it not be our reproach that, "That succeeds with us which we have from the Ant, while that by which we resemble the Divinity fails." Let us remember that no ma-

terial blessings we can transmit to our descendants, can atone for the loss of a quick moral sense, of one grain of faith. Let us not, however, wish to lead a life of mere contemplation, a life devoted to ideas. Let us try to idealize our lives, not exchange them. Let the youth choose, if possible, such an occupation, that he can see readily its relations of beauty or utility, can recur in moments of despondency to the idea which gives it life. The natural occupations of the farmer, the teacher and the clergyman have this advantage. Or let him choose an occupation so important to society, as to justify his devotion to it. For the gold of life is sometimes shred into pieces so fine, as to seem worthless. Ingots and guineas there is some satisfaction in bestowing, but a life dribbled away in farthings leaves the heart chill. If, however, Providence demands of the youth a world of trifling duties, or to give a large portion of his life to mere drudgery, let him acknowledge the poorness of his occupation; if it does not fill his horizon, it will have no power to harm him.

There are two views of the choice of an occupation: a man of decided tastes and gifts should undoubtedly follow nature, and thus enjoy whatever advantage and happiness flow from doing what he was formed to do; but if he is not on his guard, his occupation will become his tyrant. It may be doubted whether, except in very evenly-balanced or very warm-hearted natures, it is for the advantage of the whole man to have his strongest tendencies gratified in his occupation. But most men have no very decided preference for one profession, or if they have, cannot gratify it; or perhaps they follow one occupation for a living, and reserve their favorite one for leisure hours. In this case, the danger is a different one—that they may deceive themselves as to their fidelity, may trifle and do nothing well. If they will resolutely perform these duties, and reserve the heart for better things, they are likely to lead happier lives, and to be more enlarged and interesting men than those who have been engrossed by a congenial pursuit. The difficulty is, that there are eager competitors in every occupation, who put their hearts into their business, who make it their whole life. Their thoughts are fixed on it, till, by a species of intuition, they can comprehend and foresee everything. It is the American way of doing a thing, and it must be confessed a very effectual one, to put the heart into it; when the work is worthy, it is a right manly way, and is always better than idleness; but it prevents those who reserve their hearts for the highest things from commanding success in lower ones. Let them, then, be contented with a moderate success, and without regret see those roll by who are willing to use Pegasus as a motive power.

There are some advantages in not having that which supports the family the favorite pursuit. It is less likely to absorb a man, and it gives him an opportunity to become acquainted with at least two sets of ideas. Let our merchants, when they have made for themselves a footing, return to the science which captivated their youth; let them unite the liberality and justice of merchants with the intellectual enlargement of scientific men, let them devote their thoughts to some scheme of practical benevolence, and in every way raise the ideal of a business life. I hope we shall see in this country the character of each set of men less technically stamped. This will be brought about by the education of those who wish to lead an active life. When time is allowed every youth to educate himself before he is swallowed up in business, he will afterwards allow himself hours for study and an early retirement. He will not then, as now, be surrounded by unknown advantages, for which he feels a superstitious respect; thinkers and quiet observers will seek his society, they will feel it invigorating, enlarging, life-giving.

If the expenses of living were diminished, it would be less important that the occupation should be lucrative; there would be more choice of occupations, and individual tastes would be more followed. A boy who had a love of farming or of building, would then be allowed to follow it, whatever his father's ambitious desires might be. Parents would consider the character and talents of their children, both in education and employment. There are more ways of cultivating the soil than by ploughing—in Greek and Latin; the sciences and arts, natural history, action can make men as well as these. Education is beginning to be modified to suit the wants of those who are intended for active life, and I hope it will be so more and more, but it must not become superficial. Let time be given to secure literary, nay classical tastes if possible, before the boy is delivered over to the hard school of the world. Let these precious hours be prolonged till their influences sink deep into the nature. Let us spare many years for acquirement, and what may be called the passive parts of character, before we begin active life—let this life itself be subservient to character, and we shall no longer be reproached that "getting and spending, we lay waste our time."

The power has passed from the chieftain and the priest to him on whom God has bestowed it. Those who have drawn blanks look to him as a helper. And can he imagine for himself a holier, happier life than to be the interpreter of God's purposes, the instrument of His gifts? The time has come when "bodies bright and greater" "serve

the less not bright." What is more simple than that the man to whom Providence has given such insight into the wants of others, and the means of supplying them, that every person and everything pays him a toll for being put into the right channel, should set a portion of this apart for those differently organized? Let those who are coming forward, to whom superfluities have not yet become essentials, devote themselves to this and other works which now seem impossible; how soon will every stain be removed from our land!

III. STATISTICS OF RAILROADS AND TELEGRAPHING.

CENSUS OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, MARCH 1, 1852.

The number of miles of railroads in operation in the United States January 1, 1852, was, as nearly as can be ascertained, 10,814½. At the same time there was in course of construction an extent of railroad amounting, according to the most reliable estimates, to 10,898½ miles. By far the greater portion of the lines commenced, but now incomplete, will be finished within the ensuing five years. The length of railroad brought into operation since January 1, 1848, is 5,224 miles. Within the last year, 2,153 miles have been finished. Nearly all the lines in progress have been commenced since 1848. It is supposed that from one thousand to fifteen hundred miles, additional to the 10,898 now known to be in progress, will be put under contract during 1852.

There never existed greater activity in the making of railroads in the United States than at the present time. Many of the lines projected have taken the place of plans for the construction of canals and turnpike roads. Accordingly, these works of public improvement are not prosecuted with the same ardor and energy as formerly, although much activity exists in the construction of plank roads. The labor and capital which they would require are absorbed in the numerous and almost colossal railroads building. Since 1848, the extent of railroad opened for travel and transportation has nearly doubled, and there is reason to believe that the increase in the length of road brought into use will not be less rapid during the next period of four years. By the year 1860 we may expect that the territory of the United States will be traversed by at least 30,000 miles of railroad.

It is very difficult to form an estimate of the average expense per mile of building railroads in the United States. In fact, no average can be assumed as applicable to the whole country. The cost of the

roads in New England is about $45,000 per mile; in New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, about $40,000. But in the interior of these States the surface of the country is broken, rendering the cost of grading very heavy; and nearer the sea, wide and deep streams interrupt the lines of travel, and make the expense of bridging a serious item.

In New England, and the more densely inhabited parts of the old States, from the Atlantic, as in all European countries, the extinguishment of private titles to the real estate required for railroads frequently forms a large part of the expenses included in the item of construction. In the Southern States, and the valley of the Mississippi, $20,000 per mile is considered a safe estimate. There, in most cases, all the lands necessary for the purposes of the companies are given to them in consideration of the advantages which private proprietors expect from the location of the roads in the vicinity of their estates.

In many of the Western States, the cost of grading a long line of road does not exceed $1,000 per mile, the cost of the timber amounting to nothing more than the expense of clearing it from the tract. For these reasons the expense of building railroads in the Southern and Western States is now much less than it will be when the country becomes as densely settled as the older States of the Union.

The Central Railroad of Illinois is an enterprise which furnishes a remarkable example of the energy and spirit of improvement in the new States. Illinois was admitted into the confederation as a State in 1818, with 30,000 inhabitants. It has 55,405 square miles of territory, and a population, according to the census of 1850, of 851,470. The Central Railroad is to extend from its south-western extremity, at the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, to the north line of the State, with two diverging branches. The total length of this road, including the main stem and branches, is to be six hundred and eighty miles. The cost is estimated at $20,000 per mile, or $10,000,000 for the entire work, without epuipments for operating it. This is the longest continuous line of road now in contemplation in the United States, of which there is probability of speedy completion. It has been commenced with such facilities for executing the plans of its projectors, that there is no reasonable doubt that it will be finished within a few years.

Mr. Asa Whitney proposes to construct a railroad from St. Louis, or some other place on the Mississippi river, to the Pacific Ocean, terminating either at San Francisco, in California, or at the mouth of the Columbia river, in Oregon. He solicits the patronage of the national

government for this prodigious work, and petitions for the grant of land equal in extent to sixty miles in width to two thousand miles in length. His plans were first laid before Congress in 1842, and he has since been continually occupied in recommending them to the favorable attention of the government and the people with great ability and zeal; but with what success remains yet to be seen. Without expressing any view with reference thereto, it may be said that his project is generally considered impracticable, from the fact that of the two thousand miles of territory which his route across the country must traverse, a large portion consists of desert or of sterile and very elevated mountain districts, in which can be found no materials of construction, and which would afford no business for the support of the road, were the difficulties of building it overcome. Many intelligent men, however, are convinced of its practicability and expediency.

The railroad system of the United States may be considered to have commenced in 1830. The first one put in operation was a short road, built for transportation of ice from a small lake to the sea, in the State of Massachusetts. The length of this work was four miles. It was finished in 1830. In the same year the State of South Carolina caused to be commenced a railroad from Charleston, its principal port, to Augusta, in Georgia. The distance is 135 miles. The work was finished in 1833, at the very remarkably small cost of $1,335,615, which sum included also the expenses of furnishing the road with engines and passenger and freight cars, and all other necessary equipments. This was the first road of any considerable length constructed in the United States, and it is believed to have been the cheapest and one of the most successful.

The longest continuous line of railroad in the world, and that in the construction of which the greatest natural obstacles have been overcome, is that which extends from the Hudson river, through the Southern counties of New York, to Lake Erie. Its length is four hundred and sixty-nine miles, and it has branches of an aggregate additional length of sixty-eight miles. Nearly its whole course is through a region of mountains. The bridges by which it is carried over the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, and other streams, and the viaducts upon which it crosses the valleys that intercept its route, are among the noblest monuments of power and skill to be found in our country. The most of these works are of heavy masonry, but one of them is a wooden bridge, one hundred and eighty-four feet in height, and having but one arch, the span of which is two hundred and seventy-five feet. One of the viaducts is 1,200 feet long, and 110 feet high. The aggregate cost of

this important work was $23,580,000, and the expense of construction was $43,393 per mile. The road was originally suggested in 1829; a company was organized in 1832; surveys were made in the same year, and operations were begun by grading a part of the route in 1833. It was finished in May, 1851, and opened with great ceremony for travel and transportation in that month. The State advanced six millions of dollars towards the work, and afterwards released the company from the obligation to pay the loan. It will thus be seen that the execution of this great improvement was pursued through nineteen years, and it was not accomplished without calling into requisition both the resources of the State and the means of her citizens.

In the infancy of the American railroad system, and for ten years thereafter, it was the rule to extend to every important enterprise of that character the assistance of the State in which it was to be built.

Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Mississippi, and some other States, adopted extensive systems of improvements, consisting of railroads and canals, which they pursued until their credit failed; an event which happened in most cases before any of the works had been completed and brought into profitable use. But the general practice was to charter companies, each of which was charged with the execution of some particular work, and to aid them by loans of State stocks. Although this practice has fallen into so much disfavor in some of the States, that the citizens have incorporated in their constitution articles prohibiting advances by their legislatures for such purposes, it is yet continued by others, and Virginia, Tennessee, and other States are now prosecuting expensive works, considered essential to their prosperity, by means of advances from their respective treasuries.

In the year 1850, Congress passed an act, after a very protracted discussion, granting to the State of Illinois about 2,700,000 acres of public lands to aid in the construction of the Central Railroad, to which allusion has been before made. This magnificent donation is reckoned by the company, to which Illinois has confided the building of the road, to be worth $18,000,000. This was the first instance in which the aid of the national government had been extended to a railroad project.

But since the above grant, innumerable applications have been made from all the new States for cessions of land for railroad purposes. Whether such further aid shall be extended, is now a most agitated question in American politics. Bills are pending in Congress, proposing to cede for these purposes about 20,000,000 acres.

The following table presents in a convenient form some of the prin-

cipal facts connected with railroads in the United States, on the 1st of January, 1852:

States with Railroads in operation or in process of construction.	Miles of Railroad completed and in construction.	Miles of Railroad in course of construction.	Area of the States in square miles.	Population in 1850	No. inhabitants to the square mile.
Maine,	315	127	30,000	583,188	19.44
New Hampshire,	489	47	9,280	317,964	34.26
Vermont,	380	59	10,312	314,120	30.76
Massachusetts,	1,089	62	7,800	994,499	127.49
Rhode Island,	50	32	1,306	147,544	112.97
Connecticut,	547	261	4,674	370,791	79.33
New-York,	1,826	745	46,000	3,097,294	67.33
New-Jersey,	226	111	8,320	489,555	58.84
Pennsylvania,	1,146	774	46,000	2,311,786	50.25
Delaware,	16	11	2,120	91,535	43.17
Maryland,	376	125	9,356	583,035	62.31
Virginia,	428	818	61,352	1,421,661	23.17
North Carolina,	249	385	45,000	868,903	19.30
South Carolina,	340	298	24,500	668,507	27.28
Georgia,	754	129	58,000	905,999	15.62
Alabama,	121	190	50,722	771,671	15.21
Mississippi,	93	273	47,156	606,555	12.86
Louisiana,	63	—	46,431	517,739	11.15
Texas,	—	32	237,321	212,592	0.89
Tennessee,	112	748	45,600	1,002,625	21.98
Kentucky,	93	414	37,680	982,405	26.07
Ohio,	828	1,892	39,964	1,980,408	49.55
Michigan,	427	—	56,243	397,654	7.07
Indiana,	600	915	33,809	988,416	29.23
Illinois,	176	1,409	55,405	851,470	15.36
Missouri,	—	515	67,380	682,043	10 12
Wisconsin,	20	421	53,924	305,191	5.65
	10,814	10,898			

Nearly parallel to the Atlantic coast of the United States, from Maine to Alabama, runs the range of mountains known as the Alleghany or Appalachian Chain. The eastern bases of these mountains

are not distant from the seabord more than a hundred miles, and they form a very formidable obstacle to the construction of railroads between the great Eastern cities and the interior. In nearly all the great enterprises which have been undertaken with the view to effect such connection, great additional expense has been incurred to overcome or to penetrate this mountain barrier. In the plan first adopted for the general system of State improvements in Pennsylvania, it was proposed to effect the crossing of the Alleghanies by means of inclined planes, with powerful stationary engines at their summits. The planes were built, and have been used for several years; until experience proved that their operation was too slow and too expensive to maintain a successful competition with other methods of conveyance, and other improvements have been furnished designed to supersede them. The railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio river is carried over a passage in these mountains where the elevation is upwards of three thousand feet, and a part of that height is overcome by tunnels, varying in length from one-sixteenth to four-fifths of a mile. The road from New York to Albany, along the banks of the Hudson, has three tunnels. The greatest work of this kind yet proposed in the United States, is the tunnel through the Hoosik mountain, which, if executed, will be four miles in length, and fifteen hundred feet below the summit of the ascent. The cost is estimated at $2,000,000. On the road from New York to Lake Erie, tunnels have been avoided by expensive works, which overcome ascents of 1,400 feet.

No authentic statement has ever been given of the capital invested in the railroads of the United States, but we have the means of forming an estimate upon which much reliance may be placed. The railroads in operation at the beginning of the present year may be assumed to have cost $348,000,000. The amount invested in the lines under construction, it is impossible to estimate, with even an approximation to correctness. Their cost, when completed, will be considerably less than that of an equal length of road now in operation; for the reason, that the greater number of new or unfinished lines are in the West or South, where, as has been shown, the cost of construction is far below what it is in the Northern and Eastern States.

The management of the American railroads is entirely distinct from the administration of Government. Their concerns are managed by corporations, which consist of a President, Secretary, and Directors. Each of the Directors must own a certain amount of stock. They are chosen by the body of stockholders, who have votes in proportion to the number of shares they hold. The Directors choose one of their

body President, and appoint the Secretary. The President and Secretary have generally liberal salaries, but the services of the Directors are gratuitous.

The rate of the speed on our railroads is not so great as on those of England. The ordinary velocity of a passenger train is twenty miles an hour, but on some routes it is as high as twenty-eight and thirty miles. Express trains, on such occasions as the conveyance of the President's Message, frequently maintain for a long distance as high a speed as forty-five miles an hour. And on one road, that between New York and Albany, forty-five miles per hour is the regular rate for all passenger trains.

The fares, or rates of passage, are not uniform. In New England the average price per mile for the conveyance of passengers is under two cents; from New York to Boston it is two and four-tenths; from New York to Philadelphia, three and four-tenths; from Philadelphia to Baltimore, three and one-tenth. From New York to Cincinnati the distance is 857 miles by the northern route, of which 143 miles is travelled by steamboat; the price of passage for the whole distance is $15.50, being slightly under two cents per mile. The lines between Baltimore and Cincinnati, soon to be opened, will be 650 miles in length, and the fare will be $13: that is, two cents per mile.

TELEGRAPHS.

As telegraphs have formed a subject of inquiry, it is deemed proper to present some account of the information obtained respecting this recent but widely extended and daily enlarging means of communication. At the present time it is a subject engrossing much of the attention of our own citizens, and frequent applications are made to this office from foreign countries for information regarding the "minutiæ" of the system as conducted in America. It is hoped that the details will prove interesting and instructive.

The telegraphic system is carried to greater extent in the United States than in any other part of the world, and the numerous lines now in full operation form a net-work over the length and breadth of the land. They are not confined to the popular regions of the Atlantic coasts, but extend far into the interior, climb the summits of the highest mountains, and cross the almost boundless prairies, and in a few years a continuous communication will be established between the capital of the nation and the shores of the Pacific, as it now exists between the Atlantic, the great lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico.

Telegraphing employs a large amount of capital, engages the attention of thousands of our citizens, and has become indispensable in a social, political, and commercial point of view.

It is to American ingenuity that we owe the practical application of the magnetic telegraph for the purpose of communication between distant points, and it has been perfected and improved mainly by American science and skill.

While the honor is due to Professor Morse for the practical application and successful prosecution of the telegraph, it is mainly owing to the researches and discoveries of Professor Henry, and other scientific Americans, that he was enabled to perfect so valuable an invention.

The first attempt which was made to render electricity available for the transmission of signals, of which we have any account, was that of Lesage, a Frenchman, in 1774. From that time to the present there have been numerous inventions and experiments to effect this object, and from 1820 to 1850 there have been no less than sixty-three claimants for different varieties of telegraphs. We will direct attention only to those of Morse, Bain, and House, they being the only kinds used in this country.

During the summer of 1832, Mr. Samuel F. B. Morse, an American, conceived the idea of an electric or electro-chemical telegraph, and announced his invention to the public in April, 1837.

On the 10th of March, 1837, Hon. Levi Woodbury, then Secretary of the Treasury, issued a circular, requesting information in regard to the propriety of establishing a system of telegraphs in the United States; in which Professor Morse replied, giving an account of his invention, its proposed advantages and probable expense. At that time he "presumed that five words could be transmitted in a minute."

Professor Morse petitioned Congress to aid him in prosecuting his experiments, and to test the practical operation of his invention. An appropriation of $30,000 was made for this purpose, and he then erected the first telegraphic line in the United States, in the month of June, 1844, between Washington and Baltimore, over a length of forty miles; previous to which, however, he had conducted a series of experiments in the Capitol building.

This line was extended to Philadelphia and New York, a distance of 250 miles. It reached Boston in 1845, and became the great line of the North, from which branched two others—one, the length of 1,000 miles, from Philadelphia to Lancaster, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, Columbus, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis; the other, the length of 1,300

miles, from New York to Albany, Troy, Utica, Rochester, Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland, Chicago, and Milwaukee.

Another line, 1,395 miles in length, goes from Buffalo to Lockport, Queenstown, Niagara, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, and Halifax.

Two lines run South, one from Cleveland, Ohio, to New Orleans, by Cincinnati, and is 1,200 miles long; the other, from Washington, by Fredericksburg, Charleston, Savannah and Mobile, to New Orleans, 1,700 miles, the entire length of the latter, from New York to New Orleans, being 1966 miles.

The only line constructed with Government aid, was that connecting the cities of Washington and Baltimore. The others have been established by private enterprise, the patentee being allowed one-half the stock for the use of the patent, as his share of the investment.

The following table exhibits the annual receipts of the Magnetic Telegraph Company, extending from Washington to New York, which was the first organized in the country, from its commencement to July, 1852:

From January 27, 1846, to July 1, 1846 - -	$4,228 77
From July 1, 1846, to July 1, 1847 - - -	32,810 28
From July 1, 1847, to July 1, 1848 - - -	52,252 81
From July 1, 1848, to July 1, 1849 - - -	63,367 62
From July 1, 1849, to July 1, 1850 - - -	61,383 98
From July 1, 1850, to July 1, 1851 - - -	67,737 12
From July 1, 1851, to July 1, 1852 - - -	102,860 84
Total amount received up to July, 1852 - -	$385,641 42

The capital of the Company is $370,000. It has six wires from Washington to Philadelphia, and seven from Philadelphia to New York. The number of messages sent over this line in the last six months was 154,514, producing $68,499 23. It is perhaps the most productive line in the world.

The amount of business which a well-conducted office can perform is immense. Nearly seven hundred messages, exclusive of those for the press, were sent in one day over the Morse Albany line, and a few days after, the Bain line at Boston sent and received five hundred communications. Another office with two wires, one five hundred, the other two hundred miles in length, after spending three hours in the transmission of public news, telegraphed, in a single day, four hundred and fifty private messages, averaging twenty-five words each,

besides the address, sixty of which were sent in rotation, without a word of repetition. The instruments cannot be worked successfully without skilful operators, good batteries and machines, and thorough insulation of the conductors. The expense of copper wire, which was at first used, has caused it to be superseded by that of iron, which is found to answer the purpose as well, though the wire in this case must be of increased size. About 300 pounds of iron wire are required to a mile, and it is supported by spars or posts, from 20 to 30 feet in height, set five feet deep, nine inches in diameter at the base, four and a half at the top, and placed about fifteen rods distant from each other. The insulation of the wire is effected by winding it around glass or glazed stoneware knobs, passing it through caps of the same material, or inclosing it throughout with gutta percha. The cost of construction, including wire, posts, labor, etc., is about $150 per mile. The average performance of the Morse instrument is to transmit from 8,000 to 9,000 letters per hour.

In the majority of electric telegraphs in actual use, batteries composed of heterogeneous metals, chiefly zinc and platinum, moistened by a liquid or liquids, are employed for the generation of force. The earth itself has been made to furnish a supply of electric force; in other words, a single pair of zinc and copper plates have been buried sufficiently below the surface to be in the wet subsoil, when the earth, saturated with water, represents the sand saturated with acid water of an ordinary battery cell. By this means a current of low intensity can be obtained, even when the plates are miles apart. The earth acts as the return wire to any given number of distinct wires, without in the least affecting the regularity of the action of any of them.

The only constant and economical battery which is used in the United States is Grove's, of cups of zinc with strips of platinum in an earthenware or porcelain cup, which cup is filled with nitric acid, which is placed inside of the zinc cup, in a tumbler containing diluted sulphuric acid. The main battery on a line (from 30 to 50 cups) requires renewing only once in every two weeks, and daily in local batteries of two or three cups.

The usual charge of transmisssion is twenty-five cents for ten words or less, sent one hundred miles. The following table has been prepared to show the rates of telegraphic communication between the city of Washington and some of the principal cities of the Union. The distances are given from the table prepared at the Post Office department:

Telegraphic Charges from Washington to the following places for Messages containing ten words, or less:

Albany, N. Y.,	376	miles,	$0 80	Memphis, Ten.,	1305	miles,	$1 70
Augusta, Me.,	619	"	1 15	Milwaukee, W.,	1332	"	1 35
Baltimore, Md.,	40	"	0 20	Nashville, Ten.,	1142	"	1 35
Baton R'ge, La.,	1539	"	2 25	Natchez, Miss.,	1694	"	2 05
Boston, Mass.,	448	"	0 75	N. Albany, Ia.,	723	"	1 10
Buffalo, N. Y.,	703	"	0 90	Newport, R. I.,	414	"	0 75
Chicago, Ill.,	1238	"	1 25	N. Orleans, La.,	1403	"	2 20
Cincinnati, O.,	578	"	0 70	N. York, N. Y.,	232	"	0 50
Cleveland, O.,	439	"	0 80	Philadelphia, Pa.,	142	"	0 30
Detroit, Mich.,	970	"	1 00	Pittsburgh, Pa.,	307	"	0 45
Dubuque, Iow.,	1449	"	1 70	Portland, Me.,	555	"	0 95
Erie, Pa.,	439	"	1 00	Ports'th, N. H.,	503	"	1 00
Frankfort, Ky.,	669	"	2 00	Prov., R. I.,	404	"	0 75
Harrisburg, Pa.,	124	"	0 45	St. Louis, Mo.,	989	"	1 20
Hartford, Ct.,	345	"	0 75	Springfield, Il.,	851	"	1 45
Indianapolis, Ia.,	639	"	1 00	Syracuse, N. Y.,	524	"	0 90
Jackson, Miss.,	1325	"	2 00	Vicksburg, Mis.,	1371	"	2 30
Louisville, Ky.,	720	"	0 95	Wheeling, Va.,	331	"	0 50
Madison, Ark.,	1413	"	1 55	Wilmington, D.,	112	"	0 26

Messages passing from one very distant point to another have usually to be re-written at intermediate stations; though by an improved method the sea-board line has in good weather transmitted communications direct between New York and Mobile, a distance of nearly 1800 miles, without intermediate re-writing. By the Cincinnati route to New Orleans, a distance of nearly 2000 miles, the news brought by an Atlantic steamer at 8 o'clock, A. M., has been telegraphed from New York to that distant point, and the effects produced on the market there returned to New York by 11 o'clock, A. M. The Congressional Reports from Washington are usually received simultaneously in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York; and all that is necessary at the intermediate stations is the presence of an operator to receive the message as it is developed on paper by the instruments.

The electric telegraph has been applied in this country to a new and highly important purpose, that of the registration of astronomical observations, thus establishing the best possible means for the determination of the difference of longitude. The observatories in different parts of the country are connected by telegraphic wires, and the most

delicate experiments, dependent upon the appreciation of minute portions of time, have been successfully performed. This method has been recently used for the determination of the wave-time of electrical currents.

To show the great extent to which telegraphing is now carried, and its importance to the community, reference may here be made to the arrangements of the Newspaper Press in New York and their expenses for telegraphic dispatches. The Associated Press, consisting of the seven principal morning papers published in New York, paid during the year ending November, 1852, nearly $50,000 for dispatches, one-third of which was foreign news. The several newspapers composing this Association paid during the same time about $14,000 for special and exclusive dispatches.

Alexander Bain, a native of Scotland, patented an Electro-Chemical Telegraph on the 12th December, 1846, and another patent was granted to him in connection with Robert Smith in October, 1849. The advantages which the inventor attributes to the Electro-Chemical Telegraph are: 1st, More economy and simplicity in the primitive construction; 2d, More rapidity in the transmission of dispatches—a single wire with a good insulator can transmit 1,200 letters a minute; 3d, An electric current more feeble than is ordinary suffices to cause the apparatus to work; 4th, More simplicity and economy in the correspondence and superintendence; 5th, Fewer chances of error in the dispatches sent. The Bain Telegraph used in this country has been materially improved by Henry J. Rogers.

The following is a list of the Bain Telegraphic lines in the United States:

New York to Boston, via Providence, (250 m. each,)	2 wires,	500 miles.
Poston to Portland, - - - - - -	1 "	100 miles.
Boston, through New Hampshire, to Burlington, Vt., and thence to Ogdensburg, N. Y.,	1 "	350 miles.
Troy to Saratoga, - - - - - -	1 "	36 miles.
New York to Buffalo, (513 miles each,) -	2 "	1,026 miles.
Total, - - - - - - -	7 "	2,012 miles.

The "House Printing Telegraph" was invented by Royal E. House, a Pennsylvanian, and patented April 18, 1846. The first line operating with this instrument was completed in August, 1850, by the Boston and New York Telegraph Co., between those cities. It has been patented in England by Jacob Brett.

The difference between Morse's and House's telegraph is, principally, that the first traces at the distant end what is traced at the other, while House's does not trace at either end, but makes a signal of a letter at the distant end, which has been made at the other, and thus by new machinery and a new power of air and axial magnetism, is enabled to print the signal letter at the last end, and this at the astonishing rate of sixty or seventy strokes or breaks in a second, and at once records the information by its own machinery, in Roman letters. Morse's is less complicated and easier intelligible, while House's is very difficult to be comprehended in its operations in detail, and works with the addition of two more powers, one air, and the other called "axial magnetism." One is a tracing or writing telegraph; the other, a signal and printing telegraph.

The following are the "House" lines in operation:

The Boston and New York Telegraph Company, two wires, length 600 miles. A line being constructed to connect with the Boston line, running from Springfield, Massachusetts, to Albany, New York, there to intersect the New York and Buffalo line, using the same instruments, extending from New York to Buffalo, a distance of 570 miles.

One wire, now in operation, connecting with Poughkeepsie, Troy, Albany, Utica, Syracuse, Lyons, Rochester, Albion, Lockport, and Buffalo; and another wire, nearly completed, same distance. The same line to continue to St. Louis, Mo., connecting with Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Louisville, will soon be completed, forming the longest line in the world under the direction of one company, the whole length being 1,500 miles.

The New Jersey Magnetic Telegraph Company, using House's instruments, extends from Philadelphia to New York, two wires, 132 miles each. A line also extends south to Baltimore and Washington. The whole length of House's lines in the United States is about 2,400 miles.

List of Telegraphs in the United States.

Lines.	Wires.	Miles.	Total Miles Wire.
New York and Boston Telegraph Company . .	3	250	750
Merchants' Telegraph Company, New York and Boston	2	250	500
House's Printing Telegraph, New York and Boston	1	250	250
Boston and Portland	1	100	100
Merchants' Telegraph Company, Boston and Portland	1	100	100

Lines	Wires.	Miles.	Total Miles Wire.
Portland and Calais	1	350	350
Boston to Burlington, Vermont, and thence to Ogdensburgh, New York	1	350	350
Boston to Newburyport	1	34	34
Worcester to New Bedford	1	97	97
Worcester to New London	1	74	74
New York, Albany and Buffalo	3	513	1,539
New York State Telegraph Company, New York to Buffalo	2	550	1,100
Syracuse to Ogdensburgh	1	150	150
Troy to Saratoga	1	36	36
Syracuse to Oswego	1	40	40
House Telegraph Company, New York to Buffalo	2	550	1,100
New York and Erie Telegraph, New York to Dunkirk	1	440	440
New York and Erie Railroad Telegraph, New York to Dunkirk	1	460	460
Magnetic Telegraph Company, New York to Washington	7	260	1,820
House Line, New York to Philadelphia	1	100	100
Troy and Canada Junction Telegraph Company, Troy and Montreal	1	260	260
Erie and Michigan Telegraph Company, Buffalo to Milwaukee	2	800	1,600
Cleveland and Cincinnati	2	250	500
Cincinnati to St. Louis, via Indianapolis	1	400	400
Cincinnati to St. Louis, via Vincennes	1	410	410
Cleveland to Pittsburgh	2	150	300
Cleveland and Zanesville	1	150	150
Lake Erie Telegraph Company, Buffalo to Detroit	1	400	400
Cincinnati and Sandusky City	1	218	218
Toledo and Terre Haute	1	300	300
Chicago and St. Louis	1	400	400
Milwaukee and Green Bay	1	200	200
Milwaukee and Galena	1	250	250
Chicago to Galena, Whitewater and Dixon	1	310	310
Chicago and Janesville	1	100	100
Buffalo and Canada Junction Telegraph Company	1	200	200
New York and New Orleans, by Charleston	1	1,966	1,966

Lines.	Wires.	Miles.	Total Miles Wire.
Harper's Ferry to Winchester, Va.	1	32	32
Baltimore to Cumberland	1	324	324
Baltimore and Harrisburg	1	72	72
York and Lancaster	1	22	22
Philadelphia and Lewistown, Delaware	1	12	12
Philadelphia and New York	6	120	720
Philadelphia and Pittsburgh	1	309	309
Philadelphia and Pottsville	1	98	98
Reading and Harrisburg	1	51	51
Troy and Whitehall	1	72	72
Auburn and Elmira	1	75	75
Pittsburgh and Cincinnati	2	310	620
Columbia and Portsmouth, Ohio	1	100	100
Columbia and New Orleans	1	638	638
New Orleans to Balize	1	90	90
Cincinnati and Maysville, Kentucky	1	60	60
Alton and Galena	1	380	380
St. Louis and Independence	1	25	25
St. Louis and Chicago	1	330	330
Newark and Zanesville	1	40	40
Mansfield and Sandusky	1	40	40
Columbus and Lancaster, Ohio	1	25	25
Lancaster and Logansport	1	15	15
Cincinnati to Chicago (wire in Ohio)	1	100	100
Zanesville and Marietta	1	66	66
Dunkirk, New York, and Pittsburgh	1	200	200
Camden and Cape May, New Jersey	1	100	100
Camden and Mount Holly, New Jersey	1	25	25
New York and Sandy Hook	1	80	80
Cleveland and New Orleans, by Cincinnati	1	1,200	1,200
Total	89	16,729	23,275

The telegraphs in England are the next in importance and extent to those in this country. They were first established in 1845, and there is about 4,000 miles of wire in operation.

The charge for transmission of dispatches is much higher than in America, one penny per word being charged for the first fifty miles, and one farthing per mile for any distance beyond one hundred miles.

A message of twenty words can be sent a distance of 500 miles in the United States for one dollar, while in England the same would cost seven dollars.

A project has been formed for constructing a submarine telegraph between Great Britain and the United States. It is proposed to commence at the most northwardly point of Scotland, run thence to the Orkney Islands, and thence by short water lines to the Shetland and Faroe. Thence, a water line of 200 to 300 miles conducts the telegraph to Iceland; from the western coast of Iceland, another submarine line conveys it to Kioge Bay, on the eastern coast of Greenland; it then crosses Greenland to Julianas Hope, on the eastern coast of that Continent, in 60° 42', and is conducted thence by a water line of about 50 miles, across Davis's Straits to Byron's Bay, on the coast of Labrador. From this point the line is to be extended to Quebec.

The entire length of the line is approximatively estimated at 2500 miles, and the submarine portions of it at from 1400 to 1600 miles. The peculiar advantage of the line being divided into several submarine portions is, that if a fracture should at any time occur, the defective part could be very readily discovered, and repaired promptly at a comparatively trifling expense. From the Shetland Islands it is proposed to carry a branch to Bergen, in Norway, connecting it there with a line to Christiana, Stockholm, Gottenburg, and Copenhagen; from Stockholm a line may easily cross the Gulf of Bothnia to St. Petersburg. The whole expense of this great international work is estimated considerably below £500,000.

Another enterprise has been actually started, with every prospect of consummation. A portion of the line is being prosecuted with vigor, and the company propose transmitting intelligence between the Old and New World in four or five days. A charter has been granted by the British Colonial Government, to the "Newfoundland Electric Company," with a capital of £100,000, to construct a line of telegraph from Halifax, N. S., to Cape Race, touching at St. Johns, and crossing the Island of Newfoundland to Cape Bay, thence by a submarine line of 149 miles, across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, a landing being made at Cape Earl, on Prince Edwards Island, and going through that island, it crosses Northumberland Straits by another submarine line of 10 miles, landing at Cape Torment in New Brunswick, and so on to the boundary of the United States, whence, by an independent line to New York, the connection is completed. The total distance traversed by this line will be between 1400 and 1500 miles, of which 150 are submarine. It is stated, that steamers can make ordinary passages between Cape Race, Newfoundland, and Galway, Ireland, in five days.

The following is a list of lines now in operation or construction in Canada·

	Miles.
The Montreal Telegraph Company's line extends from Quebec to the Suspension Bridge at Niagara Falls, . . .	155
British North American Electric Telegraph Association, from Quebec to New Brunswick frontier, ...	220
Montreal and Troy Telegraph Company, from Montreal to New York State line, ...	47
Bytown and Montreal Telegraph Company, . .	115
Western Telegraph Company, from Hamilton to Port Sarnie, at the foot of Lake Huron, ...	143
Niagara and Chippewa Line, ...	14
Brantford to Simcoe and Dover, ...	33
Kingston to Hamilton, ...	256
Total length in Canada, ...	983

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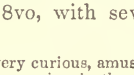

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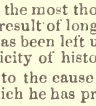

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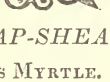

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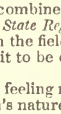

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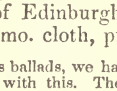

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